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THE FAMILY IN CLASSICAL CHINA.



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The Family In Classical China

BY

H. P. WILKINSON, B.C.L., OXON

formerly

H.B.M. Crown Advocate at Shanghai;
and Judge of the High Court at Wei-hai-wei, China.

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ERRATA.

CONTENTS: *For* Chapter V, Mother-Right *read* Chapter V, Mother-Right?

Page 49: Line 7 from top, *for* Ard Bi at Tara *read* Ard Ri at Tara.

Page 63: *For* Chapter V, Mother-Right *read* Chapter V, Mother-Right?

Page 166: Line 15 from bottom, *for* 𐌺𐌹. *read* 𐌺𐌹.

Page 170: Line 8 from bottom, *for* one ancestral hall *read* one's ancestral hall.

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TO MY WIFE,
WHO HAS ASSISTED ME IN MY RESEARCH.



PREFACE

THE longer one lives in China the more dilident he should be in writing of the ways of her people: save perhaps in matters pertaining to his profession. The men and women here written of are long dead, but their record remains, collected and preserved by men of their own race: and it is with the facts there recorded that the writer mainly ventures to deal.

The members of the Christian Missions in China, and especially the Catholic Missions, as part of their sacred duty and in order to arm themselves for their crusade *in partibus infidelium*, have, with an enthusiasm and care which no layman has equalled, or even seriously rivalled, informed themselves of the laws, manners, customs and observances of China,—the details of the daily life of those amongst whom they labour.

In such learning the Jesuits, for reasons which form part of the history of China, eminently excel.

Father Pierre Hoang of Siccawei, collected and collated the Imperial decrees, references in the classics, and well-known dicta on Chinese Marriage and, in 1898, published *Le Mariage Chinois au Point de vue Légal*.

Father Hoang's work written in French, with the Chinese texts referred to given in the original, is the classic on the law of China as to the relationship there known as marriage.

Father Hoang, in his Preface, says that his work should be specially useful to those called upon to ratify and bless Christian unions, and who, already

well versed in the Canon Law, wish to, and ought to, know the provisions of the Law of China.

As the Author says:—"The work is a translation as faithful as may be of extracts made from books (Chinese) treating officially of marriage: the laws of the (then) reigning dynasty and commentaries thereon, decisions given by the Higher Courts of Peking and collections of decided cases."

Father Hoang has, in the work referred to, collected sufficient materials for a code on the, in China, correlated subjects of marriage, adoption, and mourning for parents and remoter relatives: a treasure house of texts covering all matters in any way incident to marriage, and ranging from the "betrothal of the unborn" to "seduction."

P. G. von Möllendorff, now dead, a learned German, an Officer of the Chinese Imperial Maritime Customs, a man of varied gifts, who, at one time, in Corea acted as Adviser, and practically Prime Minister, to the then King, published in 1879 an *Essay on the Family Law of the Chinese and its Comparative Relations with that of other Countries*, revised, enlarged and re-printed in 1896 under the title of *The Family Law of the Chinese*.

The late Mr. George Jamieson, C.M.G., one of H.M.'s Consuls-General in China, and Assistant Judge of H.M. Supreme Court for China and Japan, published in 1882 in the *China Review*, under the title *Cases in Chinese Criminal Law*, typical decisions of the Higher Chinese Courts on appeals in criminal cases, involving questions such as validity of marriage,

and rights of succession, taken from the Chinese collection known as *A General View of Criminal Cases*. Mr. Jamieson also made and published in the *China Review*, Vol. X, 1881, a translation with comments of the Chapters on "Marriage" in the *Lü Li*, the General Code of Laws of the Chinese Empire. At a time when these publications were out of print, the writer was kindly furnished by Mr. Jamieson with a copy of the translations referred to, and of his comments thereon.

Since Mr. Jamieson's death there has been published in book form his *Chinese Family and Commercial Law*. As, however, some of Mr. Jamieson's original articles in the *China Review* have been recast in a condensed form, references in these pages to Mr. Jamieson's views are taken from the text of his original essays.

The whole of the *Fundamental Laws*, the *Ta Ching Lü Li* (or *Ta Tsing Leu Li*), and a selection from the *Supplementary Statutes from the Chinese Penal Code*, were translated into English by Sir George Staunton and published in 1810.

Mr. Jamieson, in his translation of the chapters of the Code as to "Marriage" differs in some places from Staunton: both translations have been consulted; and, in quotations, Mr. Jamieson's translation has been followed.

Quotations from the Chinese Classics are taken, by the writer, from the works of the Rev. James Legge, D.D., namely, *The Chinese Classics*, published by Dr. Legge himself in 7 volumes, and *The Sacred*

Books of China, as included in *The Sacred Books of the East*, edited by Max Müller.

Of the *She King*, *Book of Odes*, Dr. Legge published also a metrical translation in 1876; of which the learned author says his "Readers will find in it, in an English dress, the Chinese poems themselves, and not others composed by paraphrase from them."

The quotations from the *Book of Odes* in the following pages are taken from Dr. Legge's metrical version as, being in ballad form, a more life-like portrayal of the ancient life and customs of China there sung of than his prose translation. Where, however, any doubt could arise as to the exact meaning of a text upon which the writer relies as a record, or evidence of primitive usage, both Legge's translations and the texts, have been carefully compared.

Anyone who in his college days read the works of Sir Henry Maine, and read them with pleasure, would thereafter be interested in social origins, the foundations of human society.

In China one comes in contact with what is generally admitted to be the oldest existing, living, civilization,—a state of human society where the tiller of the fields lives with little, if any, change in the same way and with the same relation to his family, his clan, his neighbours, friendly or hostile, as his ancestors did when they first settled on the upper-waters of the Yellow River, "the river" of primitive China; and to the banks of which his forefathers brought with them the framework of a social

system bearing the stamp of what may have been the earliest form of human association.

Mr. E. H. Parker, Professor of Chinese in Victoria University, Manchester, late of H.M. Consular Service in China; says in his *Comparative Chinese Family Law*:

"Now the Chinese Law, both Customary and Statute, furnishes an immense amount of collateral evidence in support of Maine's theory that the movement of the progressive societies has hitherto been a movement from Status to Contract, or from families as units to individuals as units. It is particularly fruitful in illustration, perhaps more so even than the Hindoo Customary Laws, which, in truth, of Ancient Laws appear to have been the only ones, besides the Roman and Hellenic Laws, over which Maine had, at the time of his Lectures on Ancient Law, obtained a complete grasp. The numerous illustrations are the more valuable inasmuch as China has not yet emerged from Status, and, as regards the *Patria Potestas*, the Testamentary Power, the position of women and slaves, the fiction of adoption, and the almost entire absence of any written law of contract, remains in the position of the Roman Law—not of the later Empire, not even of the Antonine era; not even, again, of the early Empire, or the Republic at its prime; but of the Roman Law anterior to the publication of the Twelve Tables—2,200 years ago. In fact, with the Chinese Law, as with the Chinese language, we are carried back to a position whence we can survey, so to speak, a living past, and converse with fossil men."

Since von Möllendorff, Jamieson, and Parker wrote, Sir J. G. Frazer completed the *Golden Bough* and has written his *Totemism and Exogamy*; those store-houses of the customs and observances of primitive races, with which those of China can now be compared and co-related.

To make a beginning in such comparison is one of the aims of the present writer.

The "Classificatory System of Relationships" noticed first as in use by the Iroquois, and later found to be used by many other American-Indian tribes, is the foundation upon which Professor Morgan, who discovered and, in his *System of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family*, classified the terms used, built his theory of the normal advance of the human family from promiscuity, through the cohabitation of brother and sister, the communal family, and the tribal organization, to the marriage of single pairs, and later, through polygamy and polyandry, to the modern family.

Morgan styled his seventh stage in the development of the family the *Turanian and Ganowanian* Systems of relationship: the "Turanian" including a Chinese phase of human family life, as he supposed it to have existed. After careful study, and for the reasons given in these pages, the present writer found that Professor Morgan's facts as to Chinese family nomenclature, and his deductions therefrom as to Chinese family life, were mistaken. The inaccuracy of the supposed Chinese terms for family relations by blood and marriage relied on by the learned

expounder's theory of the classificatory system of relationships was, incidentally, noted by von Möllendorff in 1879 in an Essay on the *Family Law of the Chinese*; but he did not pursue the matter, considering it, no doubt, one outside the scope of his then enquiry.

The fundamental errors in the terms of Chinese relationship as set out in McLennan's and Starcke's "Tables," and the deductions, of necessity unsound, drawn therefrom by subsequent authorities on social origins, led the present writer to pursue with fresh interest his study of the early family life of China, with the special object of discovering whether, or not, it was founded on "group-marriage," and to search for Chinese evidences as to the origin of exogamy. Exogamy was, and is, the great commandment, the "taboo" as to marriage observed by the Chinese race. In China one cannot marry a wife, or take a concubine, of the same family name as oneself. To read the riddle of Exogamy is the aim of all interested in the origin of human society. Many and varied are the suggested solutions of that riddle; and even Sir J. G. Frazer in his *Totemism and Exogamy*, published in 1910, has not barred the way to further enquiry.

Parker, in 1879, in his essay on "Comparative Chinese Family Law" said "we do not in the least know the origin of Chinese Exogamy, *i.e.*, marriage out of the family or surname." *China Review*, 1879, Vol. VIII, p. 110.

The late T. W. Kingsmill, an erudite Irishman, in an essay on the construction of the Yih King, in the

China Review, Vol. XXI, 1891-5, said that exogamy in China was a long lingering survival of the practice of "marriage by capture."

Jamieson, however, in his Note on the origin of the rule against marriages between persons of the same family name, above quoted from, says:—

"Of the capture of wives there is, as far as I am aware, historically no trace, nor is the form found among any of the ceremonies of marriage with which I am acquainted,"—and his conclusion appears to be correct.

Parker in his *Comparative Chinese Family Law*, and Kingsmill in his essay on the "Chinese System of Family Relationships and its Aryan Affinities" (*Royal Asiatic Society North China-Branch Journal*, Vol. XXI), both mention the possibility, founded on the Chinese group characters for "wife," and "marry" (*ducere*), that here we have traces of marriage by capture.

Jamieson, in 1881, in his Note on the origin of the Rule against Marriages between persons of the same Family name (*China Review*, Vol. X), says:—

"My idea is that it is simply due to primitive antipathy to marriage between kinsfolk fostered and extended by the practice of ancestral worship. We may take it for granted that one of the first instincts of primitive man on emerging from barbarism would be to forbid marriages with one's own nearest relations. Spencer (*Principles*,

of *Sociology*) certainly gives instances to the contrary, but in the vast majority of cases it was so, and the prohibition must have been due to a common instinct, because, if there were absolutely no feeling about the matter, unions with near relations would be most frequent, they being the persons with whom one is most in contact. As soon as the family organization, of whatever form, was complete, unions with one's sisters, for instance, would be disallowed. The Chinese family system is, and as far as it can be traced, has always been patriarchal. It contemplates and encourages the descendants living for several generations under the paternal roof, and its terminology suggests a closer relationship among the various branches than actually exists."

Jamieson finally suggests that what was originally only an "impropriety,"—marrying one of the same surname,—became in time an "illegality."

As to the enforcement of exogamy by the unseen powers, Jamieson says:—

"But if to that prejudice" (against marrying the females of one's family) "is added the sanction of religion, the prohibition will come with ten-fold force. Marriage has always been considered by the Chinese as the most solemn and important act of life. It is the root and origin of future existence. An unholy union is like want of harmony between heaven and earth. From marriage spring the future generations whose first duty is to maintain the family sacrifices. But if the origin is tainted, nothing but misery will result."

Jamieson's conclusion, from the instances of breach of the rule above referred to, is that in the early classical period in China "there was a prejudice against these marriages and nothing more," and that "the impropriety" which was all that could be said of it in early times found its way into the statute-book, but when he does not know, and was thus converted into illegality. One of these instances, that of Tsang Woo-Tse who would marry a woman of the same family name as himself is dealt with by the present writer: but in that case she was a widow. Jamieson also says that it may be that further investigation into the very misty regions of early Chinese history will lead to a modification (of his opinions), "or that the origin of the rule is altogether prehistoric."

When many years ago I first made notes upon the family law and customs of China, I little thought how vast the field of enquiry would prove to be, or how far the quest would lead one, nor how many tempting by-paths one must leave unexplored. As to equipment—the writer is not a "sinologue"; but he has had, from time to time, in his researches, the kind assistance, by aid, advice and criticism, of Professor Parker, Mr. Lionel Hopkins, and Sir James Stewart-Lockhart, and of Tsang Koh Chung and Foo Wen Kwei, Interpreters in his Office.

In many years' search for a clue to the origin of exogamy in China, the writer was first led to think that in "name avoidance" could be found the possible origin of the ban on marriage with one's kin. As

will be seen in the following pages, the journey back along that path leads one to facts which, I think, show that exogamy in China was founded on a primitive fear of the risks run in the shedding of blood, which as that of one's kin, was in fact one's own: risks personal and also to one's fellows, who, in self protection, enforced their avoidance.

Having after careful enquiry come to certain conclusions, the writer stated his views as to exogamy in China in a paper read before the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, at Shanghai, (in 1921) and published in the *Journal* of the China Branch of the Society, Vol. LII, 1921.

At the kind suggestion of the late Rev. Samuel Couling, the Editor of the *New China Review*, my views as to *Chinese Family Nomenclature and its Supposed Relation to a Primitive Group-Marriage*, were published in that *Journal* in June 1921. By courteous permission, those two essays are incorporated in the following pages.

So far, the reader who is interested only in the present life of the Chinese race, its social structure, its new economic problems and, a pressing question, its relation to other races, may think that there can be little in this essay to interest him. An understanding, however, of the present, and an intelligent forecast of the future, of any race and its civilization, depends upon a knowledge of its past.

The writer trusts that to survey, even partially, what Parker calls "a living past" may be of interest

and assistance to the general reader, and that he may even find a matter of interest the "taboos" discussed.

The reader who is a student of social origins in search of the motive force of primitive "avoidances" may, on reading further, think that the writer might have shortly, and with less background, stated his suggestion as to the origin of exogamy in China, and presumably elsewhere.

The writer hopes that the student of origins will here find certain vital matters undivorced from their surroundings.

To each reader the writer says that he knows that the collected notes which form this essay are not the "book" which might be written on the subjects dealt with, and which he trusts may some day, and by someone, be written. At the same time the writer, without further delay, as time flies, submits his effort to those interested.

The writer's friend, Mr. W. Stark Toller, Vice-Consul in His Majesty's Consular Service in China, has most kindly read and corrected the proofs, and the writer has to thank him also for the drawing up of the Index.

H. P. WILKINSON.

CHAPTER I.

DEFINITION OF MARRIAGE

WHAT is meant by marriage,—as the institution upon which organised human society, as we know it, is based, is so well understood that “marriage” is, at times, discussed and written of without definition.

Westermarek in *The History of Human Marriage* defines marriage, from the scientific point of view of natural history, as “a more or less durable connection between male and female, lasting beyond the mere act of propagation till after the birth of the offspring.”

*Westermarek
History of
Human
Marriage
5th Ed. 1921,
Vol. I, p. 71.*

This definition, as the author said in the first edition of his work, “is wide enough to include all other hitherto given, and narrow enough to exclude those wholly loose connections which by usage are never honoured with the name of marriage.”

*Op. cit.
Vol. I, p. 26.*

In the latest edition of his Work, Westermarek further defines marriage as “a relation of one or more men to one or more women, which is recognised by custom or law and involves certain rights and duties both in the case of the parties entering the union and in the case of the children born of it.”

Andrew Lang, in the Introduction to *Social Origins and Primal Law* says that in that work he means by "marriage" "permanent co-habitation of man and woman, sanctioned by tribal custom, and usually preceded by some rite or initiation which does not prelude to casual amours."

We have in common use descriptive labels for the various forms which the union recognised as "marriage" takes amongst nations, tribes, and sects, civilised, and primitive.

These definitions, however, assume a knowledge of the essential and lay stress upon the incidental.

We have thus "Christian Marriage," and "Civil Marriage"; "polyandrous," "polygamous," and "monogamous" marriage.

The use of the term "polygamous" as a legal adjective is misleading and of no assistance unless the term "polygamy" be itself clearly defined.

Regozin, in his *Vedic India* objects to the use of certain vedic texts as proving that primitive Aryan marriage was "polygamous"; he says such texts "prove at most the existence of harem life, not that of polygamy as a legal institution, under which several or many wives have equal conjugal rights."

It is incumbent on one, therefore, to use terms free from any import of praise or blame to differentiate unions in which the head of the household has one "wife," and may, or may not, enjoy the society of other female members of it, from those in which he is at liberty to have more than one lawful "wife."

Westermarck, it may be noted, does not use, once, in his work, the term "polygamy"; but denotes the possession by any man or group of men, of more women than one as "polygyny."

In trying to arrive at the element common to all forms of marriage, that is in all cases where there is a settled and continuous family life as distinguished from "horde" or "group" connection, it appears to the writer that what they have in common is the recognition of some form of parentage as regular and proper,—whether that form be, from modern standpoints, the most primitive or the most cultured.

Marriage, from the legal point of view, may, therefore, be defined as:—The form of parental relation approved by the State, Tribe, or Society to which those concerned belong.

The word "relation" is suggested rather than "union" as there have been, and are now, forms of recognised marriage in which the consortium is short and shifting, as McLennan points out in *Primitive Marriage* (See Chapter VIII and instances there cited).

It may be objected that the definition suggested would not cover childless marriage. That is so, but a childless marriage in any state of civilisation, however blest to the spouses, fails in its object, and does not in fact interest or affect the commonwealth—save as a misfortune to be remedied, as it is in the Far East, by adoption, re-marriage, or concubinage.



CHAPTER II.

FAMILY LIFE IN THE LEGENDARY AND HEROIC AGE OF CHINA

PROFESSOR Parker, in his book *Comparative Chinese Family Law*, says he is "inclined to think it improbable that the Chinese have added to, or more than superficially changed any of their fundamental social principles since the compilation of the *Ritual of Chow* by Chow Kung, and that of the *Record of Rites*" which, while he doubts the authorship and dates assigned to them, he says "most probably reduced to a definite code the social principles of the Chinese, whilst blending them with those of the then ruling dynasty, and to this day continue to exercise a profound influence upon the Chinese mind."

Parker,
*Comparative
Chinese
Family Law*,
p. 1.

Whether these compilations were made in the twelfth and seventh centuries B.C. respectively, or later as Parker thinks, is immaterial in their consideration as a written record of what the Chinese ever since these books were studied as classics have thought to have been at one time, and should be now, the pattern of social order and right living.

The *Ritual of Chow* supposed to have been compiled by the great Duke of Chow, in the twelfth century B.C., and the *Record of Rites*, attributed to Confucius himself (sixth-fifth centuries B.C.), record

the then manners of the time and the traditions of an earlier age; the considered deductions therefrom of the authors or compilers—whoever they may have been—as to what “should be,”—the “rules of propriety.”

Parker considers that Maine would have found in Chinese Law, Customary and Statute, had he had opportunity to study it, strong confirmation of his theory that the movement of the progressive societies has been a movement from Status to Contract: and he, Professor Parker, shows that China at the present time has not yet emerged from Status.

The law considered by Parker is primarily that to be found in the *Lü Li*, and the binding and observed customs of the present day. Even of that law and custom he says:—“we are carried back to a position where we can survey so to speak a living past, and converse with fossil men.”

There are, however, much older Chinese records than the *Book of Rites*, or even the *Ritual of Chow*, from which a picture of Chinese life “in the beginning” or “once upon a time” may be drawn; and which afford a rich mine of information for the student of social phenomena and the beginnings of family life.

“The pencil of the recording officers was busy from the time of Hwang-te, says Ma Twan-lin.”

Legge's
Chinese
Classics, Vol.
III, Proleg.
p. 11.

The reign of Hwang-te is assigned to the twenty-seventh century B.C.

Whether the "Recorders" of the Chinese States had thus early begun their labours, or that the records when made, or as handed down orally, survived, may be doubted; but in the "Songs of the People," recorded in the *Book of Odes*, we have the earliest record of Chinese civilization and family life.

Legge says of the Chinese Classics that no other literature, comparable to them for antiquity, has come down to us in such a state of preservation.

The great Chinese Classics are:—

(i) *The Shu King*, the Book of History, covering the period from the twenty-fourth century B.C. to 619 B.C.; (and in the opinion of Legge, as from the twenty-second century B.C. a contemporary record).

(ii) *The She King*, the Book of Poetry, containing 305 preserved ballads, odes, and hymns—songs of war, love, labour, and worship—reduced to writing, or written, between 1719 B.C. and 585 B.C.

(iii) *The Yih King*, the Book of Changes, a book of divination, an enigmatical explanation of the eight trigrams supposed to have been made by Tu-hi in the thirty-fourth century B.C., but which Legge assigns to the time of King Wan in the twelfth century B.C.

(iv) *The Li Ki*, or *Book of Rites* including: *The Chow King*, the Official Book of Chow, *The I Li*, the Book of Decorum; and *The Record of Rites*, compiled under the Han Dynasty.

(v) *The Spring and Autumn Annals*; being the Annals of the State of Lu, 722-481, B.C., as compiled by Confucius; and *The Hsia King*, the Classic of Filial Piety, either written by Confucius himself, or his collected dicta on this subject.

(vi) The Four Shoo: *The Lun yü*, the Sayings of Confucius. (The Confucian Analects): *The Works of Mencius*; *The Ta Hsiao*, the Great Learning; *The Chung Yung*, the Doctrine of the Mean.

Legge says that the Books of Ritual, the *Li Ki*, do not throw so valuable a light on the ancient religion of China as the older *Book of History*, and the *Book of Poetry*. To any student of family life these same books are of great value; not only because of their age, but rather as genuine records, or racial remembrances (at what exact date reduced to writing is of minor importance) of the beginnings of Chinese life,—in China.

McLennan, in thinking that philology should be the handmaiden merely of ethnology in the reconstruction of primitive society, had not in mind perhaps a word-picture language such as that of China was in its origin.

Professor Parker, in his *Comparative Chinese Family Law*, shows that the Chinese Character 娶 (Ch'ü) for "marry," ducere, is "etymologically almost the same" as 取 (Ch'ü) a Chinese character, noted by Williams in his *Middle Kingdom*, as referring to a still surviving custom of conquerors taking the left

ears of captives in war as a trophy and proof of victory.

Yet this fact, which by many writers would have been taken as conclusive proof that marriage by capture was at one time practised, or even universal, in China, is not so treated by Parker. While recognising the significance of the symbol Parker says that "a close search into the almost unexplored regions of Chinese history and tradition can be the only true way of tracing the development of modern custom out of ancient habit."

Westermarck's warning as to the necessity of checking facts before making inferences, and of sifting travellers' tales, is very necessary in regard to China.

Westermarck,
1st Edit. p. 2.

Thus Lubbock (Lord Avebury) says:—"In China, according to Duhalde, the father-in-law, after the wedding day, never sees the face of his daughter-in-law again, he never visits her, and if they chance to meet he hides himself."

Lubbock, *Origin of Civilization & the Primitive Condition of Man*.
p. 89.

To the various taboos imposed by some primitive peoples upon social intercourse between married couples and their respective parents-in-law and their near relatives by affinity great weight has been attached by all writers on social origins.

Lord Avebury considers such taboos to be a relic of "marriage by capture"; and by other writers they are regarded as proof of early "sexual communism," "group-marriage," or even as in Patagonia, of a practise of killing an aged woman, mother-in-law

by preference, on the death of a young member of the family.

Westermarck says that he feels confident that
 Westermarck, "such taboos are in the main due to that
 op. cit. feeling of sexual shame which a person
 5th Edit. is naturally apt to experience in the pre-
 Vol. X, p. 453. sence of a member of the family circle of his (or
 her) mate, as well as in the presence of a member
 of his (or her) family circle."

Did, however, the early Chinese avoid their parents-in-law?

"The Pattern of the Interior," the Tenth book of the *Book of Rites*, in prescribing the morning duties of sons' wives says:—

Li Ki Book "Thus" (carefully) "dressed they should
 X, Sect. 1, 4. go to their parents and parents-in-law."

"On getting to whom they are, with bated breath and gentle voice, they should ask if their clothes are (too) warm or (too) cold, whether they are ill or pained, or uncomfortable in any part; and if they be so, they should proceed reverently to stroke and scratch the place."

In Professor Giles' *Strange Tales from a Chinese Studio*, Tale XVII, we do hear of a son-in-law who "never once entered his father-in-law's door." That was an exceptional case, as both husband and wife were reincarnated revenants, whose ways were abnormal.

In China so far from there being any "avoidance" between parents-in-law and their children-in-law, by Chinese law and custom there is special provision

for the taking into the family, to live and work there, of an intended future son-in-law, and the rights of sharing in the family fortunes acquired thereby, is provided for.

Pierre Hoang,
Le Mariage
Chinois,
pp. 96-100.

Again, the statement in a Report of the Proceedings of the Société de Sainte Enfance in China in the "Esperance" of Nancy, as quoted by Mc-
Lennan and Parker, that "in many parts, Chinamen may repudiate their wives, and marry again every year" is of little scientific value as the parts of China where men "may" so "marry" are not specified. Parker, however, does mention King Hien in the Province of Anhwei and many parts of Hainan as places where it is said by "well-informed natives" that "promiscuous intercourse is thinly disguised to this day."

Such a practice if, and where, found in China amongst people of the Chinese race (as distinguished from the descendants of the earlier inhabitants of China) would, in the opinion of the writer, and for reasons hereafter stated, probably prove, on investigation, to be due to local economic conditions, and not a genuine survival.

Westermarck himself quotes Katscher, author of *Bilder aus dem Chinesischen Leben* who says: "In China, up to recent times, it was considered good form for a man to beat his wife, and, if the Chinaman of humbler rank spared her a little, he did so only in order not to come under the necessity of buying a successor!"

Westermarck,
op. cit. Vol.
II, 5th Edit.
p. 29.

Some men in China, as elsewhere, may beat their wives, but they do it at their peril: the woman in the house in China, as perhaps elsewhere is, in most cases, "she-who-must-be-obeyed."

The forty-fourth, the Kan, hexagram of the Yi King is explained as portending a female bold and strong, whom it would be folly to marry.

Legge,
*Texts of Con-
fucianism Yi
King*, p. 154.

The law of the matter is that by the Lü-Li husband-beating, and wife-beating, of a serious nature were both legal offences, punishable of course with greater severity in case the wife be the offender; and a possible ground for judicial separation—that is to say, divorce.

Pierre Hoang,
*Le Mariage
Chinois*,
p. 121.

In correlating the views of Maine, McLennan, Darwin, and Spencer, as to the primitive relation of the sexes, Parker says "In treating of Chinese Marriages, it will perhaps facilitate the labours of enquirers into Chinese history if they bear in mind the views of the distinguished authorities quoted, and hold their theories as landmarks around which stray facts may cluster. Some may choose the inductive method of collecting early facts and finding out to what results they led: others the deductive one of taking modern facts and ascertaining what causes led to them."

The inductive method of enquiry into social facts appears to be the more appropriate in a new field, more safe, and, moreover, in accordance with Chinese classical example.

In the Royal Regulations, Book III of the *Li Ki*, it is said that the "Son of Heaven" every five years made a tour of inspection through the feudal States, and that at the great meeting of the Princes at Mount Tae (in the State of Loo—in the West of modern Shantung), after sacrifice, granting audience, and the care of the aged the Head of the then ruling dynasty "ordered the Grand Music Master to bring him the poems (current in the different States) that he might see the manners of the people."

Li Ki, Book.
III, Sects. 13
& 14.

With a like object, the Son of Heaven ordered the Superintendents of markets to present reports "that he might see what the people liked and disliked and whether they were set on extravagance and loved what was bad."

The twentieth hexagram of the *Yi King* was said, by Confucius, to symbolise the examination by the Ancient Kings of the regions of their Kingdoms, and the ways of their people.

Legge, *Yi*
King, App.
II, p. 292.

McLennan in discussing the comparative antiquity of usus, confarreatio, and coemptio as forms of Roman marriage says "that the law long totally ignored the life and usages of the mass, and that their modes of marrying and giving in marriage began to appear, and to make their mark in the law, only on the popular element in the city becoming of importance."

McLennan,
Studies in
Ancient History,
pp. 8 & 9.

McLennan's criticism of written law, as "at first that of the dominant and presumably the most advanced classes, the literates, warriors, and statesmen;

the rest of the community are beyond its pale, a law unto themselves," does not apply to the *mores majorum* of China, the "manners of the people" exhibited to the Son of Heaven in their ballads.

In the "Yih" and "Tseih," of the *Shoo King* there is reference to "odes that go from the court and the ballads that come in from the people" whereby the Emperor examined the virtues and defects of his government.

Real democracy may be found even under a patriarchal theocracy and "the people be tranquil."

The Rulers of the Chinese race have ever been aware that an accurate knowledge of their own people, their needs and wants, was the basis of sound government: security for all, the rulers and the people, depending upon the maintenance of quiet for the man in the fields: security from internal dissatisfaction and disorder, and from external pressure from the less civilised hordes whose territories the Chinese race poured over from the West and whom they, with few and scattered exceptions, absorbed and assimilated.

Sho King, Pt. III, Bk. I, Ode VII, Legge's Metrical Translation. In an ode in praise of the Kings of the Chow dynasty it is said:—

"Oh! great is God. His glance on earth He bent
Scanning our regions with severe intent
For one whose rule the people should content."

Pt. III, Bk. II, Ode VI. Of Duke Lew of the same House it is said:—

"Whose breast his people's good alone inspired."

Of Tsoo-Keah of the Shang dynasty it is specially recorded in the Bamboo Books as a virtue that, "having lived away from the court, when he came to the throne he knew the necessities of the inferior people, protected them with kindness, and allowed no contumely to the wifeless and widows."

Legge, C. C.,
Vol. III, Proleg.
p. 137.

The favour of Heaven and the love and obedience of the people is shown to

She King,
Pt. III, Bk. II,
Ode V.

"Kings who do not idly fill their seat."

To those under whom

"The people restful peace shall gain
And each king with their praises greet."

In a poem in praise of Woo Ting of the Shang dynasty it is said:—

She King,
Pt. IV, Bk. III,
Ode V.

"When Heaven's high glance this lower world surveys,
Attention to the people first it pays."

Fortunately, enough has been preserved of the ballads in the *Book of Odes* to permit us to follow that high example.

It is thus not by accident nor yet by design, but in accordance with the very basis of their policy that we have imbedded in the *Odes* the family life of the race, not merely of their rulers, from the days when they lived in the "kiln-like huts and caves," which they left to "win whetstones and iron."

Although we have in the *She King*, *Book of Odes*, the life of the old China in the days of Chow, and before that, as told by her own people, men and women—kings, queens, concubines, husbandmen and soldiers, officers' wives, widows, maids and wantons—this mass of evidence

She King,
Pt. III, and
Bk. II, Ode VI.

has never yet, so far as the writer knows, been fully
 examined: this "rich mine" as Parker calls
 it, is still, as he says, open to the explorer.

Parker
 p. 34

Impressions have, of course, been received and conclusions drawn by translators and commentators as to the social life of those who sang, those who handed down, and those who wrote the ballads.

How widely, however, these authorities, regarding each the facts from his own view point, civil or religious, may differ is shown by the opposed views held by Legge and the Marquis de Hervey Saint Denis as to the status of women in ancient China; and by the divergent views of the Marquis and Sir Thomas Wade, on the one hand, and Legge and Spencer on the other, as to whether the Chinese were, or were not, are, or could ever be, a military people.

It is to be noted that, on this disputed premise, Spencer in his *Principles of Sociology* partly relies in tracing a connection between the military type of man and polygamy.

As to the position of woman as shown by the ballads—Legge reproves the French writer for having
 said "The wife of the ancient poems is
 the companion of a spouse who takes her
 counsels, and never speaks to her as a master. She
 chooses freely the man with whose life she will as-
 sociate her own."

She King.
 Intro. pp.
 54 and 55.

The English translator and commentator says: "There can be no doubt that polygamy prevailed from the earliest times just as it prevails now, limited only by the means of the family."

As the greatest authorities on the Odes so differ on such an essential matter, there is room for a further opinion based on the evidence.

When the records of the Chinese were first reduced to writing they were still in movement. Coming from the West they had entered the valley of the Ho, the Yellow River, and had colonised its upper reaches and the valleys of the Wei and lesser tributaries. Offshoots from the central tribe were pushing further East, North-East and South.

Already a pastoral, they had now become also an agricultural people, though still depending on the chase, which at fixed seasons was enjoyed and ceremoniously followed by princes and people. They dressed in clothes of hair, fibre, and proudly-dyed silk; furs adorned their robes and were used as symbols of rank in accordance with fixed rules depending, doubtless, on their rarity and beauty.

In the Bamboo Books, included in the *Shoo King* or *Book of History*, it is recorded of King Yin's sons by his first wife that they, as well as the generals, great officers, and recorders of
Legge, C. C.,
Vol. III, Proleg.
p. 176.
 Tae all wore dresses of marten skins.

In an ode describing the labours of the year it is said:—

She King.
 Part I, Bk.
 XV, Ode I.

“In our first month for badgers quest they make;
 The wild-cat also and the fox they take;
 These last the furs for young lords to supply.
 Our second month, there comes the hunting high,
 When great and small attend our ruler's car,
 And practise all the exercise of war.

The hunters get the younger boars they find;
Those three years old are to the prince assigned."

The story of how Duke Lew when the narrow limits of their old seat in the West forced him to lead his, at first unwilling, people eastward to found the new settlement of Pin (assigned to the date 1796 B.C.) gives the details of one of these victorious advances of the Chinese race.

Armed with the sword and shield, bows, spears and "axes great and small" they set out following the river-basins in their advance and later crossing the river Wei "in boats."

Duke Lew carries a sword sheathed in its glittering scabbard, which, as also the axes of his people, may still have been of bronze; as it was later that he crossed the Wei to win "whet-stones and iron." But the sword and axes may have been of tempered iron, as in *The Tribute of Yü* are mentioned in the articles of tribute brought to the capital in the twenty-third century B.C.

As well as the arms above enumerated we find the lance and spear referred to in other odes, and, as protective armour, "buff coats" of leather.

There are numerous references in the Odes to teams of chariot horses, usually a team of four, as Legge notes, as used both in war and sport. Horse drawn cars were also used for baggage in war and as dog-carts in the chase.

Legge, C. C.,
Shoo King,
Pl. II, Bk. I,
Ch. IX, p. 121.

She King,
Pl. I, Bk. XI,
Ode VIII.

Pl. II, Bk.
VIII, Ode X, &
Pl. I, Bk. XI,
Ode II.

In an Ode ascribed to the eighth century B.C., the wife of an officer, absent on border warfare, describes the "short" war-car of her husband and its mail-clad team, their fittings and harness. In this poled car the four steeds are driven by the charioteer, controlled by six reins; the inner pair being checked by the inside reins; while the officer is left free to direct his troops and himself fight as an archer.

Part I.
Bk. XI.
Ode III.

In an ode of the ninth century B.C., there is a description of the car used by the Marquis of Han on his attendance at Court.

Part III.
Bk. III.
Ode VII.

In an ode in praise of Duke He of Loo in the seventh century B.C. it is said:-

Shu King.
Pl. IV, Bk.
II, Ode IV.

"A thousand are the cars of war;
Aloft on each, seen from afar
Rise the two spears, with tassels red,
In each two bows in case are laid,
To frames with green strings firmly bound,
Guarding those cars, and all around,
March thirty thousand footmen bold,
And on their helmets can be told
The shells strung on vermilion string;
Such is the force our State can bring."

The "thousand cars" are those of the leaders of the host—not a fighting unit.

The shell-decorated helmets were probably of leather. The "shells" on them may have been cowries which we know were used as money in the fifteenth century B.C., as Pwan-Kang of the Shang dynasty upbraided his ministers and officers of State, who, instead of assisting him in moving his people to the

new capital of Yin, thought only of "hoarding up cowries and gems."

There is no reference in the odes to cavalry, or indeed to anyone riding a horse,—horses are always "driven."

It may be assumed that, although the leaders went into battle in chariots and fought from them, the body of the army always fought on foot.

Legge notes that Père de Mailla in his *Histoire Générale de la Chine* says in his paraphrase of "The Speech at Kan" of the Emperor K'e, in 2197 B.C., that the Emperor "had his cavalry in the centre."

Legge's translation of the passage is:—"If you, charioteers, do not observe the rules for the management of your horses it will be disregard of my orders."

Legge says that one of the earliest instance of riding on horseback is in the Tso Kwan under the year 517 B.C.

No details are given in the Odes, as extant, of the armament of the "wild hordes" whom the Chinese ousted or absorbed.

Everything of interest to the Rulers of China in regard to the feudal States and outlying tribes was, as Legge shows, in his Prolegomena to the Odes, probably to be found with the lost books of the Three August Rulers and The Five Emperors.

The study of the manners and customs of their dependencies and neighbours is an essential of government which the Chinese Rulers have never neglected.

Though they went down before their invaders the earlier inhabitants of the river valleys were by no means savages. In an ode in praise of the Marquis of Loo it is said:—

"The tribes of Hwae will own his sway;
His tiger-chiefs here down will lay
The ears cut from their foes.

So shall the Hwae tribes change their minds,
And bring their tribute in all kinds
Of produce rich and rare:—
The ivory tusks, the tortoise big,
The metals from their mines they dig:—
Their fealty to declare."

The Bamboo Books record that in the fifty-ninth year of Hwang Te:—"The Chief of the Perforated Breasts" came to make his submission. So also did the "Chief of the Long Legs."

*Bamboo Books,
Legge C. C.,
Vol. III, Proleg.
pp. 112-16.*

In the twenty-ninth year of Yaou "The Chief of the Pigmies came to court in token of homage, and offered as tribute their feathers which sank in water."

"In his seventy-sixth year, the Superintendent of Works smote the hordes of Ts'au and Wei and subdued them."

"In the thirty-fifth year of his reign Shun commanded the prince of Hea to lead a punitive expedition against the Yew-Mëaou. The prince of Yew-Mëaou came to Court and did homage."

"Wild tribes" with whom political relations were entered into, and at times maintained, can only have

been "savage" relatively, and as compared to their more powerful, and better organised neighbours.

Of the Emperor S'eeh was read that "he conferred regular dignities on the Chiefs of the hordes of K'enen, of the white hordes, the dark hordes, the hordes of Fung, the red hordes, and the yellow hordes."

Bamboo Books,
Legge, C. C.,
Vol. III, Proleg.
p. 123.

Thus from the earliest times the Chinese called in diplomacy to the aid of war.

Border-foray, punitive expedition, and submission follow each other down the pages of Chinese history.

To return to the story of Duke Lew and his people, economic pressure is given as the reason for the migration to Pin.

She King,
Part III, Bk.
II, Ode VI.

"In their old seat no longer could he rest,
Its narrow limits forced him from the West.

O'er all the plain he ranged with eager eye,
But could not space for thronging crowds descry."

Having reaped the harvest in the old home, the hoarded grain and "dried meat" are carried with them. Having reached the well-watered plain of Pin, the Duke surveys the land from a height and founds his new settlement upon "a spacious table-land,"—for strategic reasons no doubt.

It is noteworthy that in the choice of a site, the Duke chose a place where "immigrants still room for booths would find:" stragglers of his own tribe no doubt, and other members of the race, and perhaps strangers who sought shelter and submitted to his jurisdiction.

"Each plain
 "And marsh was measured; and to till the grain
 An equal system framed; the farmer wrought
 And shared the produce, after they had brought
 The fair proportion for himself he sought."

The further removal from Pin to the plain of Chow
 in B.C. 1325 is described in an ode assigned to a date
 Part III, only 200 years later in which the clearing,
 Bk. II, and parcelling-out, of the land amongst
 Ode III. his followers by the then Duke T'an-foo is mentioned
 and his oversight, through appointed officers, of the
 buildings of the new settlement.

"He cheered them on and placed them on the land,
 On left and right their different sites he planned;
 Divisions, large and small, soon marked the plain,
 And channels, or to irrigate or drain
 From east to west the acres he defined;
 Nought that was needed 'scaped his active mind.

"In time the oaks and thorns were cleared away,
 And roads for travellers opened to the day.
 The savage hordes of Keun all disappeared,
 Panting, and trembling at the name they feared."



CHAPTER III.

LAND TENURE AND TILLAGE

THE payment to Duke Lew of a fair proportion of the common crop was in accordance with already-established custom, and the payment of tithe to the feudal superior continued to a much later date.

In a ballad of husbandry of the eighth century B.C. a substantial farmer, whose lands are *She King,* tilled by agricultural labourers, his de- *Part II, Bk.* pendants, sings:— *VI, Ode VII.*

“Bright shine my wide-spread fields before the eye,
That yearly to the king a tithe supply.
From olden times the crops have plenteous been;
Each year has left to feed my husbandmen
Sufficient store.

Thousands of granaries must our lord prepare,
And carts in myriads home their loads shall bear.”

These granaries were not merely the tithe-barns of the lord, they were also the stores from which the common stock was distributed: the same poem adds:—

“With radiant joy each husbandman surveys
The millets stored, the rice crop and the maize.”

It was not only the harvest which was so stored: other necessities of life were drawn from a common store.

In a poem describing the life of the first settlers in
She King, Pin after its conquest, and in which the
 Pt. I, Bk. XV, agricultural work of the year is described,
 Ode I. it is said:—

“The seventh moon sees the Ho go down the sky,
 And in the ninth, the stores warm clothes supply.”

Legge's prose translation is:—

“In the seventh moon, the Fire Star passes the
 meridian; in the ninth month clothes are given out.”

The return to winter quarters of the community,
 after carrying in the harvest as described in this
 poem, is of special interest as we find wattle and
 daub cottages with thatched roofs kept on by twisted
 ropes of reeds, as the huts the “central plot” con-
 tained.

In this poem the “Inspector of the fields” referred
 to later, “surveys the fields and cheers the working
 men.”

The oldest settlement of boundaries and allotment
 of land recorded in the *Book of Odes* is assigned to
 Bamboo Books, Yü the Great, who, on the failure of his
 Legge, C. C., father Kwen, the Lord of Ts'ung, to
 Vol. III, Proleg. control the waters of a great flood which
 p. 117 devastated the country in the twenty-third century
 B.C., himself undertook the work on the recommen-
 dation of Shun and by command of the Emperor
 Yaou. His labours were completed in nine years and
 the waters controlled.

“Yü divided the land. Following the course of the
Shoo King, hills, he hewed down the woods. He de-
 Legge, C. C., termined the high hills and great rivers.”
 Vol. III, p. 92.

In the *Odes* it is said:—

She King, PL. IV,
BK. III, Ode IV.

“When the great flood its waters spread around,
And Yü alone to curb its power was found,
Yü, who the regions of the land defined,
And to the great chiefs boundaries assigned,
Till o’er the realm was plainly marked each State.”

The Tribute of Yü the first two of the *Books of Hea* in the *Shoo King*, tells of Yü’s labours in regulating the waters and surveying the kingdom.

Bamboo Books,
Legge, C. C.,
Vol. III, PL. III,
p. 92, et seq.

The boundaries of each State, the nature of the soil, its products, and the articles of tribute to be furnished to the Emperor are there stated.

Details are also given of the area of the “Imperial Domain,” the “Domain of the Nobles,” the “Peace Securing Domain,” the “Domain of Restraint,” and of the “Wild Domain.”

The arrangement of the domains, as described, is an ideal and mathematical mapping out of the country into concentric squares, if one may so describe them; and not an actual description of the political divisions of China in the time of Yaou,—or since, as Legge and the Chinese commentaries have noted.

Nothing is said in the *Tribute of Yü* as to the details of the tenure under which the people, the farmers, held their lands.

Mencius, when advising Duke Wan of T’ang in the art of government, in the fourth century B.C., said:—

Mencius,
Legge, C. C.,
Vol. II, p.
115, et seq.

“The way of the people is this.—If they have a certain livelihood, they will have a fixed heart. If they have

not a certain livelihood, they have not a fixed heart." "And if they have not a fixed heart, there is nothing which they will not do in the way of self-abandonment, of moral deflection, of depravity, and of wild licence."

In advising the Duke as to land tenure, Mencius said:—

"The sovereign of the Hsia dynasty enacted the fifty mow allotment, and the payment of a tax. The founder of the Yin enacted the seventy mow allotment, and the system of mutual aid. The founder of the Chow enacted the hundred mow allotment, and the share system. In reality what was paid in all these was a tithe. The share system means mutual division. The aid system means mutual dependence."

It is not only the great divisions or redivisions of land which are assigned to Yü, but also the *She King*, assignment, by his direction, of lands to Pt. II, Bk. VI, Ode VI. the village communities. In a song of husbandry of the period 780-770 B.C., it is said:—

"Yes, all about the southern hill,
Great Yü pursued his wondrous toil.
He drained the plain, the marsh he dried;
Our lord in fields laid out the soil.
Their boundaries we now define,
As south, or east, the fields incline.

"The plots arranged in order fit,
The millets in abundance bear.
So shall our lord the harvest view.
The central plot the hut contains,
While gourds each path and boundary line."

In an ode assigned to the period 1190–1154 B.C., it is said:—

She King,
Pt. IV, Bk.
III, Ode V.

“Twas Heaven assigned to all the States their bounds;
But where within the sphere of Yü's grand rounds
Their capitals were placed, then every year,
As business called, their princes did appear
Before our king, and to him humbly said,
‘Prepare not us to punish or unbraid,
For we the due regard to husbandry have paid.’”

The lands of a community were divided into “public” and “private” fields.

In an ode also of the twelfth century B.C. in which the community of farmers tilling the soil by their united efforts celebrates a prosperous year, it is said:—

She King,
Pt. II, Bk.
VI, Ode VIII.

“Various the toils which fields so large demand!
We choose the seed; we take our tools in hand.

“First may the public fields the blessing get,
And then with it our private fields be wet!”

Mencius noted that even under the Chow dynasty the ancient system of ownership and cultivation in common were still carried on.

When advising Duke Wan, Mencius said:—“It is said in the Book of Poetry.

Mencius, Legge,
C. C., Vol. II,
Bk. III, p. 118.

“May the rain come down on our public field
And then upon our private fields!”

“It is only in the system of mutual aid that there is a public field, and from this passage we perceive that even in the Chow dynasty this system has been recognised.”

On another occasion when stating the conduct fit for a virtuous ruler, Mencius said:—

"If he require that the husbandmen give their mutual aid to cultivate the public field, and exact no other taxes from them;—then all the husbandmen of the empire will be pleased, and wish to plough in his fields."

Mencius,
Lege, C. C.,
Vol. III, p. 76.

In one of the odes assigned to the time of King Ch'ing of the Chow dynasty, 1114-1076, being instructions to the "Ministers of Husbandry" they are thus directed:—

She King,
Pt. IV, Bk. I,
(ii) Ode II.

"Lead forth your men with energy
O'er their own fields to sow the grain.
Those, in each square of thirty le,
Ten thousand families can maintain.
Now let the ploughs turn up the soil,
The men attending, pair by pair.
The harvest will repay their toil;—
The bounteous produce all shall share."

She King,
Pt. IV, Bk.
I, (ii) Ode I.

In another narrative ode of instructions, of the same period, it is said:—

"Ho! ye who aid the ministers,
The last month of our spring is here.
'Tis yours the new-sown fields to tend,
And manage those in their third year."

In the last line we have a reference to a rotation of crops, or a triennial redistribution of the lots, "shifting severalties," perhaps to both.

The Ministers of Husbandry were appointed by the King, under their direction were minor officials called Inspectors. In two ballads assigned to the time of King Kew of the Chow dynasty, 780-770, B.C. we find the "Inspector" at his duties.

She King,
Pt. IV, Bk. VI,
Odes VII
and VIII.

“Our lord of long descent now comes this way,
 Just as their wives and children food convey,
 To those who on the southern acres toil.
 The Inspector of the fields appears meanwhile
 Glad he looks on, and of the simple food
 The dishes tastes to see if it be good.”

The system of land tenure and cultivation, which the earlier Chows had found suitable to their own advancing clans, was later as a policy of State, extended to the lands brought under their control. In the reign of King Suen of Chow (B.C. 826-781), it became necessary to strengthen the southern boundary of the kingdom and a new centre of influence was established at Seay.

In a poem, celebrating this advance, which Legge says “gives an interesting instance of the way in which by colonization and military occupancy the kingdom of Chow—China—was extended towards the south” it is said:—

She King,
Pl. III, Bk.
III, Ode V.

“Your centre Seay, go from it onwards, till
 Your merit all that southern sphere shall fill,
 Shaou’s earl was charged the new lands to define,
 And by Chow’s rules fit revenue assign.”

In an ode celebrating the extension by the marquis of Han, under the same king, of the royal influence over the Chuy and Mih tribes in the North it is said:—

She King,
Pl. III, Bk.
III, Ode VII.

“The fields too he must now define,
 And the fixed revenue assign,
 As in the king’s domain.

In the reign of King Suen another expedition was sent under the Earl of Shaou to subdue the tribes

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She King, of the Hwae, which extended the royal
Pt. III, Bk. influence to the south to the banks of the
III, Ode VIII. Yangtsze, at the modern Hankow. In the ode celebrating the success of the expedition it is said:—

“The King had charged our Hoo of Shaou,
Where the two streams their waters join:—

‘Go open all the country up;
As law requires, its lands define,
I would not have those tribes distressed,
But this State must their model be.
Their lands, in small and larger squares,
Must stand, far as the southern sea.’”

One can thus see in the odes the tribal ownership of land won by united effort, and the beginnings of exclusive family and clan ownership of part of their land.

We see the village chief, with the hardening of individual family ownership, becoming a landlord, and the common lands of the community liable to appropriation by the king.

She King, In an ode ascribed to the period 780–
Pt. III, Bk. 770 B.C., deploring the evils of the time,
III, Ode X. it is said:—

“You now, O king, possess the lands,
Which as their own men once could claim,
And chiefs, who led their faithful bands,
Are stript of wealth, and brought to shame.”

In another ode of the same period in which an
She King, overworked officer airs his grievances
Pt. II, Bk. and describes his hard work he says:—
VI, Ode I.

“Where'er their arch the heavens expand,
The king can claim the land below.

In a satirical ballad written against the idle and greedy ministers of the State of Wei, assigned to the period 769-696, B.C. it is said:—

She King,
Pt. I, Bk.
IX, Ode VI.

"You sow no seed; no harvest tasks
Your soft hands take in charge;
And yet each boasts three hundred farms,
And stores the produce large.

"You sow no seed, no harvest tasks
Your soft hands undertake;
Yet grain each boasts, three hundred bins;—
Who his that grain did make?"

In another of the Odes of Wei of the same period, and directed against oppressive rulers it is said:—

She King,
Pt. I, Bk. IX,
Ode VII.

"Large rats, large rats, let us entreat,
You'll not devour our crops of wheat.
But the large rats we mean are you,
With whom three years we've had to do."

and the singers express their intention of moving to a happier State.

Mencius said that they should suffer punishment "who take in grassy commons, imposing the cultivation of the ground upon the people."

Mencius,
Legge, C. C.,
Vol. II, Bk. IV
Pt. I, Ch. XIV.

Legge, in his notes on the Meen, the Ode already referred to, which celebrates the removal from Pin to Chow in B.C. 1325, says the condition of the people as there stated is not reconcilable with the accounts of the same race when living in Pin under Duke Lew over four hundred years earlier, as described in the King Lew Ode, and

Legge, C. C.,
Si King,
p. 289.

the Ts'ih Yueh Ode, descriptive of life in Pin; both of which Odes are quoted from above.

Legge's doubts arose, presumably, from the facts than in the ode describing Duke Lew's removal of his people to Pin in 1796 B.C. "booths," "rude homes," and "make-shift huts" are referred to:

And that:---In the ode describing life at Pin the "cosy home" appears to have been thatched wattle and daub.

While:---In the Ode describing the removal from Pin to Chow in B.C. 1325 "Kiln-like huts" and "caves" occur.

Legge overlooked, perhaps, the fact that the "booths" of Duke Lew's time were for "immigrants," that "At first rude homes their purpose served in Pin," and that, having crossed the Wei,

"Dwellings now they rear,
And make-shift huts before them disappear.
The houses good,"

Also that in the ode describing the first removal from Pin to Chow, "the kiln-like huts and caves" are said to have been made for the people by Duke T'an-foo.

She King,
PL. III, BK. I,
Ode III.

"When first by Ts'en and T'seih our
people grew," and---"Ere any house its
walls and roof displayed."

These rivers, Ts'en and T'seih are on the East of Pin, and their valleys were probably colonized in an intermediate advance from the first settlement in Pin.

It is to be noted that all these three poems were, according to Legge's chronology, written or reduced

to writing, between 1121 B.C. and 1076 B.C., and that therefore they must faithfully reflect the social life of that day and the then extant tradition of an earlier age.

Moreover, as we shall see later, it was the belief, founded on tradition or tribal memory, of the earliest Chinese writers that their primitive fore-
 fathers lived in the beginning in caves Li-Ki, Legge, Sacred Books of China, Pt. III, p. 369.
 in winter and in nests in trees in the summer; and a certain poetic licence must be allowed to the bards of the house of Chow.

That there could be such a lapse of time without a change in social conditions is a difficulty to the Western mind, accustomed to change and prone to confound movement with progress.

In China the adding of many wants to a few real needs is not thought to be the road to happiness: a way of life—"the mean"—once attained, is not lightly cast aside, nor the less valued for being old.

As to the nature of the best buildings in B.C. 1335, it is to be noted that the ancestral temple reared by Duke T'an-foo "in its might," the first She King, Pt. III, Bk. I, Ode III.
 building of the new settlement at Chow,
 —its walls "five thousand cubits long"—was made of stamped earth; not brick or stone.

"With earth in baskets crowding workmen came,
 Which then with shouts they cast into the frame.
 There with responsive blows the earth they pound,
 And trim and pare until the walls are sound."

In B.C. 596, when the State of Ts'oo made an incursion into Sung, the Chief Minister of that State

The Tso Chuen completed the walls of the city of E. in thirty days. He himself "adjusted the frames and provided the baskets and stampers, and other articles for raising the walls; apportioned equally their tasks, according to the distance of the labourers from the place, marked out with his feet the foundations; supplied the provisions and determined the inspectors."

Legge in his notes on the "King Lew" Ode says
She King, "Who shall gather out the grains of ore
 Legge, 1876, from the rubbish in which they are
 p. 312. embedded."

As a critic of early Chinese life, Professor Legge was mainly concerned with questions of religion and morals, constrained, perhaps, like Duke Lew by "the narrow limits of the West."

It appears to the writer that we have here, as elsewhere in the *Odes*, as Parker thought, a mine of fact beneath the dust of centuries.

Caves, as dwellings, in the loess formation of North Western China are easy to make, and the followers of the house of Chow who inhabited them as temporary homes were not savage men with clubs trespassing on the beasts of the field.

Mencius in his description of the flooded country in the time of Yaou, says of the people "in the low ground they made nests for themselves, and in the high ground they made caves."

The wealth of the early Chinese consisted in herds, in well-tilled fields, and sufficient clothes of woven fabrics of hair, hemp, and silk.

They were well advanced in the arts necessary to life, and conquest. They worshipped High Heaven, revered and invoked the aid of their ancestors, and paid attention to the spirits of the land and grain.

A comparatively high state of civilization may be found in a country whose capital is a walled town: the palace of the Ard Bi at Tara had only earthen walls.

The joint common labour of the whole community was necessary for the reclamation and cultivation of the country occupied in the eastward advance of their conquering tribes, and this ancient system of agriculture seems to have been long adhered to.

The annual migration from winter quarters in the villages to the fields in spring is referred to in *The Canon of Yaon*.

Shoo King.
Legge C. C.,
Vol. III, Pl. I.
Ch. II.

In spring it is said:—"The people begin to disperse; and birds and beasts breed." In summer it is said:—"The people are more dispersed; and birds and beasts have their feathers and hair thin, and change their coats."

In autumn it is said: "The people begin to feel at ease; and birds and beasts have their coats in good condition."

In winter it is said:—"The people keep their cozy corners; and the coats of birds and beasts are downy and thick."

By Chinese scholars, as noted by Legge, the dispersal of the people referred to is taken to be their

departure in spring from their homes and villages to engage in field work.

She King,
Pt. IV, Bk. II
(iii), Ode V.

In a festal ode describing the cultivation of the ground, from the breaking of it up to harvest, it is said:—

“The toilers come to clear the ground,
Where grass and brushwood thick abound,
Where ploughshare never yet was found.

“In thousands now they gather there;
And side by side, and pair by pair,
The roots from out the soil they tear:—

“The master see, inspecting all;
His sons, responsive to his call;
Their households also, great and small.

“With them are neighbours, strong and true,
Who come all helpful work to do;
And servants hired are present too.”

In the time of King Suen of the Chow dynasty (826-781 B.C.) a reforming monarch who restored the glories of his house, and under whom the people were re-gathered into communities, we find the same system of common labour by the communities under the supervision of officers of the State, to reclaim available land which had become waste through neglect.

She King,
Pt. II, Bk. III,
Ode VII.

“With rustling wings the wild geese fly,
Round fields long strange to hand of toil;
Called by the officers in charge,
We labour on the desert soil.

“We rear the walls as we are told:—
Five thousand feet are quickly done,
Great is the toil, and sore the pain,
But peaceful homes will rise again.”

Mencius, when consulted by Duke Wan of T'ang, in the fourth century B.C., as to the best system of land tenure advised as follows:—

"I would ask you in the remoter districts, observing the nine-squares division, to reserve one division to be cultivated on the system of mutual aid, and in the more central parts of the kingdom, to make the people pay for themselves a tenth part of their produce. From the highest officers down to the lowest, each one must have his holy field, consisting to fifty mow. Let the supernumerary males have their twenty-five mow."

Mencius, Legge
C. C., Vol. II,
Bk. III, Pt. I.
Ch. III, p. 120.

"On occasions of death, or removal from one dwelling to another, there will be no quitting the district. In the fields of a district those who belong to the same nine squares render all friendly offices to one another in their going out and coming in, aid one another in keeping watch and ward, and sustain one another in sickness. Thus the people are brought to live in affection and harmony."

"A square *le* covers nine squares of land, which nine squares contain nine hundred mow. The central square is the public field, and eight families, each having its private hundred mow, cultivate in common the public field. And not till the public work is finished, may they presume to attend to their private affairs. This is the way by which country-men are distinguished from those of a superior grade."

"Those are the great outlines of the system. Happily to modify and adapt it depends on the prince and you."

The Chinese place their Golden Age far back in the times of Yao and Shun (twenty-third century B.C.). Details of that early time are wanting, but one would be historically correct, as appears from the records in the *Book of Odes*, in assigning that Golden Age to the times when on each successful advance of the race into the plains of China, there were lands for all to be won, cleared, and cultivated, when there was work and food for all; when the Chinese world was young, and when her plains were not the vast man-weary graveyard they have since become.

The poor, of course, they had always with them. Many a buff-coated man who set out for Pin and later on for Chow, with his family, must have fallen by the way leaving his wife and children to be supported by the community.

Lev. XIX, 9 and Provision for such support was made
10, 22, 23, Deut. and the rules of Chow in this regard
XXIV, 19-21.
She King, Pt. II, were the same as those of the Law of
Bk. VI, Ode IX. Moses:

"Patches of unripe grain the reaper leaves;
And here and there, ungathered are the sheaves.
Handfuls besides we drop upon the ground,
And ears untouched in numbers lie around; --
These by the poor and widows shall be found."

In a festal ode, of the time of King Ch'ing (B.C. 1114-1076) describing the cultivation of the ground, *She King*, Pt. IV, Bk. I, already quoted from, we find that the (iii), Ode V. poor were not forgotten at the harvest thanksgiving.

"Enough, when at the fragrant board,
Sit host and guest, for king or lord
The glorious banquet to afford;

"Enough, when now the feast is o'er,
To satisfy the aged poor,
And cheer them from the unfailing store."

For those afflicted by blindness a profession was reserved: they were trained as musicians.

In the Odes and other classics we find many references to the blind court musicians, and their first appointment is ascribed to the Emperor Kaou-Siu, great-grandson of Hwang-te:—

Shoo King,
Legge C. C.,
Bamboo
Books, p. 111.

"He made blind men beat drums, and strike bells and sounding stones, at which phoenixes flapped their wings and gambolled."

In his *Strange Tales from a Chinese Studio*, Giles notes as a curious custom existing at Canton that, although salt is a government monopoly, certain blinded men and women are allowed to hawk salt about the streets and thus earn a scanty living.

Giles,
Strange Tales,
p. 390.

In the *Royal Regulations* compiled in the second century B.C. and purporting to give the regulations of the earlier Kings it is said:—

Li Ki, Legge,
S. B. C., Part
III, pp. 243-4.

"One who, while quite young, lost his father was called an orphan; an old man who had lost his sons was called a solitary. An old man who had lost his wife was called a pitiable (widower); an old woman who had lost her husband was called a poor (widow)."

"These four classes were the most forlorn of Heaven's people, and had none to whom to tell their wants; they all received regular allowances.

"The dumb, the deaf, the lame, such as had lost a member, pigmies, and mechanics, were all fed according to what work they were able to do."

Maine, in his *Village Communities*, in considering the ancient Teutonic Mark or Township as a political Maine, *Village Communities*, 871, pp. 10-12. and proprietary unit, and the traces of similar groups to be found in other Aryan communities, with special reference to Indian custom, defines the Township as—"an organised, self-acting group of Teutonic families, exercising a common proprietorship over a definite tract of land, its Mark, cultivating its domain on a common system, and sustaining itself by the produce."

We have seen in the *Odes* evidence of a similar system of joint land-ownership and cultivation in common by a non-Aryan people.

In China as in England this form of ownership of land was likewise older than the feudal system, and likewise, blended with, and modified by that system.

The resemblance is not confined to broad outlines, but some of the minor details of the Aryan system of cultivation by groups are to be found in ancient China.

Maine shows how the rights of the families composing the village community over the common Mark were controlled, or modified, by the rights of every other family, and protected by an elected or heredi-

tary officer who watched to see that the common domain was equitably enjoyed.

We have seen how in the days of Chow, the Inspector of the Fields superintended not only the cultivation of the fields but even the food of the husbandmen.

In China also, as we have seen, special attention was paid to fields "in their third year."

The Chinese "Inspector of the Fields" may once have been an elected or hereditary official of the village community. In the *Odes* he appears as a minor official of a higher authority,—the tribe or tribes, with their dependants, forming one of the States of Feudal China.

Maine, in dealing with the problem of "outsiders" found in the village communities of Southern India, refers to the power of absorption, which the village group may be inferred to have possessed in the earlier stages of development.

He would have been interested in the space left by Duke Lew in his new settlement at Pin for "immigrants."

In his *Early History of Institutions* Maine says:—"The naturally organised, self-existing, village community can no longer be claimed as an institution specially characteristic of the Aryan races." *Early History of Institutions*, p. 77.

The cultivating groups of ancient China as we find them in the *Odes* appear to be a development of the joint undivided family—"joint in food, worship and estate." They, like the joint undivided Hindu family are held together by con- Maine, op. cit. p. 79.

sanguinity but they are also held together by their connection with the land of the family.

In this the cultivating groups of the *Odes* exhibit a more archaic form than the modern Indian village community as described by Maine, amongst whose members "the idea of common blood and descent has all but died out."

It is, however, to the agrarian organisation of the Irish tribe that the system of land tenure as seen in the *Odes*, and on which light is thrown by the passages in the other classics already quoted, and the gradual encroachment on common rights by chiefs and powerful families, bears the closest resemblance.

Much of the passage in the *Early History of Institutions* on the Irish "Fine" or family, on its Sept, and on the gradual appropriation by the Chief for himself, or for his "stranger tenants," of land which had been common property, might have been written of the early Chinese, with, however, one important exception—a land-holding "Church."

In ancient China there was no "Church," no set apart self-governing body of ecclesiastics, to whom the common lands of the community could be given by the Chief. In China the father was the priest in, and for, the family, the Ruler in, and for, the State and the Emperor, King, or Head of the feudal princes, as the father of the nation, the High Priest and Intercessor for all.

In China the "holy fields" were set apart to provide the sacrifices in the worship of God, for the services of Heaven and Earth, the

Li Ki, Legge,
S. B. C., Pt. IV,
p. 222.

spirits of their ancestors, and "of the laud and grain."

The sorcerers and divines, still attached to courts and princely households in Classical China, descendants, probably, of a once powerful college of shamans, had become harmless specialists in geomancy and nature worship, a culture still associated with, but subsidiary to, the family worship of God in the High Heaven.

In *The Royal Regulations* it is said:—"All who professed particular arts for the service of their superiors, such as prayer-makers, writers, Li Ki, Legge, S. B. C., Pt. III, p. 235. archers, carriage-drivers, doctors, diviners, and artizans . . . were not allowed to practise any other thing, or to change their offices; and when they left their districts they did not take rank with officers."

The unexplained "remarkable coincidences between the early Chinese cult and civilization and that of Western Asia and Southern Europe" Parker, p. 28. were drawn attention to by the late Mr.

F. W. Kingsmill, in 1878, in a paper published in the Asiatic Society's Journal for 1878, which is referred to and quoted from with approval by Parker.

The races who conquered and colonized the plains of India, and those who conquered and colonized the valleys of the Ho in North West China may, or may not, have had race memories of the same conditions in a common home "in the beginning"; or similar institutions may have been the product of similar experiences. Having similar needs, they may all

have reached at varying periods similar solutions of those needs, which in each case crystalize into institutions to be retained, modified, or lost as the result of further varying needs and experiences.

CHAPTER IV.

SOCIAL ORIGINS

IN considering the family life of ancient China as shown in the *Odes*, it may be of use and interest to seek for traces, if there be any, of a still earlier life.

In the time of the *Odes* the family life appears in a well-known form—the patriarchal.

Was this the earliest form of the Chinese family, or can we find traces of a matriarchal family, a communal family, or of promiscuity?

As to "Promiscuity":—

Jamieson quotes Choo He as saying in the Tung Kien Kang-mu that: "Fuh Hi taught men the arts of fishing and rearing domestic animals. He made a Calendar and instituted marriage and music."

*Jamieson,
China Review,
1881, p. 89.*

"His successor Shen Nung was the first to make ploughs and sow the five kinds of grain. He also made use of the different plants and taught the art of medicine, established markets for exchange of commodities."

Parker, in discussing the theories of McLennan, also quotes Choo He in the same connection.

As Jamieson says, "All this teaches us very little. It indicates a gradual advance from savagery to comparative civilization which was somehow accomplished, not we may be sure by fits and starts as

thus described, but by some process of evolution working under natural laws, but we are left to guess what the process was."

Choo He, on whose authority the oft-quoted and relied on statement that before the time of Fuh Hi, twenty-nine centuries earlier, promiscuity prevailed in China is made, died in the year 1200 A.D., his remarks upon the *Shoo King* being published by a disciple.

In the *Shoo King*, as preserved, there is no record of the times of Fuh He and Shen Nung.

It is possible, indeed probable, that the scholars of China realising the importance to the human race of such matters as marriage, tillage, the study of the heavens, and the exchange of commodities attributed the deliberate institution of these to their earliest heroes,—dividing the honours.

Von Möllendorff and Parker both refer to the statement by Chinese commentators on the *She King*,
Von Möllendorff, p. 10.
 Parker, p. 7. *Book of Odes*, that "prior to the Chow dynasty (1122-255 B.C.) a general laxity of morals prevailed, and that it was not until the Chows laid down proper rites regulating marriage that promiscuous intercourse (*yin pen*, lewdness) ceased."

"Lewdness" however denotes improper conduct, a disobedience of approved custom.

Mr. L. C. Hopkins, I.S.O., suggests to the writer that the term "yin pen" may refer to some old-standing custom of irregular co-habitation such as "bundling,"

having been in use among the Chinese common people of that time.

There are love songs in the Book of Odes which show that in China, as elsewhere, love will break all barriers, but the resultant misery of illicit love and breach of convention is clearly betrayed.

Von Möllendorff says "this judgment of the modern (Chinese) commentators is altogether unjust, and has no other foundation but the wish to excessively glorify the Chows. According to our idea the home life as depicted in the *She King* is a moral and happy one; it may be contrary to the present Chinese ideas of a life surrounded by all sorts of rules and usages, but it is altogether decent, and morally irreproachable."

CHAPTER V.

MOTHER-RIGHT

THE question whether, or not, traces of "mother-right" and of descent traced through females only are to be found in the records of classical China, needs careful consideration.

Legends as to the miraculous conception and birth of some of the earlier rulers of China have led students to surmise that they arose in, or evidence, a state of society in which paternity was still doubtful and in which descent could only be traced through the females.

Both Jamieson and Parker have referred to these legends.

Jamieson,
pp. 89-90.
Parker p. 34.

Before, however, coming to any conclusion as to the weight to be attached to the legends as a proof of unsettled marital relations, or of a period when descent was traceable through mothers only, it would be well to subject the stories themselves to a more critical examination.

The instances of miraculous conception and birth here referred to are taken from the "Notes" to the text of the "Annals of the Bamboo Books."

Legge says, these notes "are supposed by some to be by a portion of the text of the Annals. The more likely opinion is, that they are additions to the text by different hands."

The Bamboo Books were a collection of records inscribed on slips of bamboo in the seal character, said to have been discovered in A.D. 279 in the tomb of King Seang of Wei, who died in 295 B.C. These Bamboo Books included annals which begin with the miraculous birth of Hwang-te, one of the "Five Rulers" who became Ruler in 2697 B.C.

Werner, in treating of "Language" in the "Early Feudal Period" in China, says:—

"Writing had passed from the alleged original system of knotted cords through successive stages of notches on wood and rude outlines of natural objects, to the phonetic system, upon which the written characters (ming or wen) are based. They are symbols, non-agglutinative and non-inflectional, and were written in vertical columns, possibly from having originally been cut on strips of bark."

The legends of miraculous birth are as follows:—

As to the Emperor Hwang-te: "His mother was called Foo-paou. She witnessed a great flash of lightning, which surrounded the star 'sh'oo' of the Great Bear with a brightness that lightened all the country about her, and thereupon became pregnant. After 25 months, she gave birth to the Emperor in Show-Kew."

It is said that Hwang-te in his wars had the assistance of the "(Heavenly) Lady Pa" in stopping extraordinary rains: he also had the assistance of tigers, panthers, bears and grisly-bears.

Werner,
Sociology,
Chinese.

Bamboo Books,
League C.C.,
Vol. III,
Proleg.,
p. 108.

Pah are now and no doubt were then, demons of drought. De Groot says, "Like by far the largest number of terms denoting demons, Pah is a word the origin and etymology of which lie hidden in the darkness of the past."

De Groot,
*The Religious
System of
China*, Vol. X,
Bk. II, p. 516.

This reference to a female protector, and the mention in this record of the mother only of Hwang-te might be taken as a point in favour of mother-right.

As against such an implication are the facts;—that Hwang-te was the father of Ch'ang-e, who renounced the succession and begat the Emperor K'een-hwang; and that the names of neither the mother, nor the wife, of Ch'ang-e are recorded.

Moreover Choo-He, in his Tung Kang-Mu, says that Foo-paou the mother of Hwang-te was the wife of the Prince of Shao Tien: and as noted in Mayers' Chinese Reader's Manual, one of Kwang-te's appellations was "Kung Sun," (*i.e.*, Duke's grandson) a reference to his paternal descent.

As to the Emperor Che—"His mother was called Neu-Tsée. She witnessed a star like a rainbow come floating down the stream to the islet of Hwa. Thereafter she dreamed she had received it, and was moved in her mind, and bore Shaou-haou" (Che).

Op. cit.
Proleg.
p. 110.

The Emperor Che is not mentioned in the text of the Annals, and Chinese commentators are undecided as to whether he was a son or a grandson of Hwang-te, or whether he was not rather descended from Fuh-He, the first of the "Five Rulers."

As to the Emperor Chuen-Heuh,—“His mother was called Neu-ch’oo. She witnessed the Yaou-kwang
Op. cit. star go through the moon like a rainbow,
Proleg. when it moved herself in the Palace of
p. 110. Yew-Fang, after which she brought forth Chuen-Heuh near the Jo-water.”

In the texts of the Annals, Chuen-Heuh is said to have “invented calendaric calculations and delineations of the heavenly bodies:” this would make the astronomical knowledge, shown in the Notes as to his birth, and that of his predecessors, the more remarkable, unless the Notes were later additions to the Annals.

Chinese commentators are undecided whether Chuen Heuh was a son or grandson of Ch’ang-e, the son of Hwang-te mentioned above.

The succeeding Emperor, Kuh, is supposed to have been the grandson of Yuen-heaou, one of Hwang-te’s sons, and accordingly a prince of Sin as mentioned in the Notes.

Neither in regard to the conception of this Emperor, nor that of his deposed heir-son Che, who
Op. cit. was passed over in favour of the great
p. 111. Yaou, are any marvels recorded; though Kuh himself was born “with double rows of teeth.”

As to the Emperor Yaou, who came to the throne in 2145 B.C., according to accepted calculations, the Notes say:—

“His mother was called K’ing-too. She was born in the wild of Tow-wei, and was always overshadowed by a yellow cloud. After she was grown-up,

whenever she looked into any of the three Ho" (branches of the Yellow River) "there was a dragon following her." After a reference to a picture, and writing, presented by the dragon, foretelling the appearance of Yaou and containing a reference to "the constellation Yih" the note proceeds "the red dragon made K'ing-too pregnant." In the text of the Annals the banishment from Court of the Emperor Yaou's son Cho is recorded, and the choice of Shun, a man of the people, to assist Yaou, in the government and ultimately to succeed him on the throne.

The name of the mother of Cho, the passed-over son of Yaou, is not given, and no portents are recorded as attending his birth.

As to the Emperor Shun, the Notes say:—

"His mother was named Uh-tang. She saw a large rainbow, and her thoughts were so affected by it, that she bore Shun in Yaou-heu." Op. cit.
p. 111.

It is said in the Notes that "Shun's parents hated him," and their unsuccessful attempts to kill him are related.

Shun's correct behaviour, his filial piety to his "obstinately unprincipled" father Koo-sow, and his mother, whereby they were reformed, is lauded in the classics and he is held up as an example to future ages.

The Emperor Yü, the founder of the Hea dynasty was, in the life-time of Shun, associated with him in the government of the Empire, and chosen to succeed

him in preference to Shun's own son, E-Kuen, Prince of Shang.

Of Yü's birth it is said in the Notes:—

"His mother was called Sew-ke. She saw a falling star, which went through the constellation Maou, and
op. cit. in a dream her thoughts were moved till
p. 117. she became pregnant, after which she swallowed a spirits' pearl. Her back opened in due time, and she gave birth to Yü in Shih-neu."

The Annals in the Bamboo Books then record incidents of the reigns of seventeen hereditary sovereigns of the Hea dynasty, none of whose births were in any way miraculous. The last of these Emperors was the tyrant Kwei, or K'ee, from whom the Empire was taken by T'ang the founder of the Shang dynasty.

As to "T'ang the Successful," founder of the Shang dynasty (1557 B.C.), the Notes to the Annals of this
op. cit. monarch record two marvellous births—
p. 128. one of a remote ancestor, and the other his own:—"In ancient times, the Empress of Kaou-sin (Kuh of the "double rows of teeth"), called K'een-teih, at the vernal equinox, when the dark swallow made its appearance, had followed her husband to the suburbs to pray for a son, and was bathing with her sister in the Water of Heuen-k'ew, when a dark swallow dropt from her mouth a beautifully variegated egg. The two sisters strove to cover it with baskets which they had; but K'een-teih succeeded in getting it. She swallowed it, became pregnant, and by-and-bye her chest opened, and she gave birth to S'ee. When he grew up he was Minister of Instruc-

tion to Yaou, who conferred on him the principality of Shang because of his services to the people. After thirteen generations, Sëe's descendant, Choo-Kwei, was born, whose wife was called Foo-too. She saw a white vapour go through the moon, was moved to pregnancy; and on the day Yih bore T'ang, who was therefore styled T'ëen-yih."

The Annals then record the main facts of the reigns of twenty-nine hereditary kings of the dynasty of Shang until it was in its turn overthrown by the house of Chow. Of the conception and birth of these kings no marvels are recorded.

As to King Woo of Chow (1049 B.C.), as in the case of the Shang dynasty so in that of the Chow, the Notes to the Annals record two marvellous births,—one of a remote ancestor, the other that of King Wan of Chow, the father of King Woo.

The Note to the Annals says:—

"Of old time, Keang Yuen, the wife of the Emperor Kaou-sin, was assisting him at a sacrifice
in the borders in order to obtain a son,
when she saw the footstep of a large man, and trod upon it.

Op. cit.
p. 124.

"At the instant she felt after a certain manner, and, becoming pregnant, by and bye gave birth to a son. Thinking the whole thing unlucky, she threw the child away in a narrow lane, but the goats and cattle avoided it, and did not trample upon it. She then placed it in a wood, where it was found by a wood-cutter. She took it then, and laid it upon the ice, and there a large bird came and covered it with

one of his wings. Keang Yuen, surprised by all this received the child at last, and nursed him, giving him the name of 'Cast-away.'"

Kung-lew, the grandson of the child so born, is then referred to, and also a prophecy current in the days of Hwang-te, that, "the Chief of the West," should become king.

The Note then proceeds, "In the thirteenth generation, accordingly, from Kung-lew, Ke-leih was born "The wife of Ke-leih was called T'ae-jin, who became pregnant after dreaming that she had been with a tall man. Afterwards . . . she gave birth to Ch'ang. This Ch'ang became King Wan of Chow."

The records of the Bamboo Books, as preserved, begin with the reign of Hwang-te, whose mother Foo-paou is there mentioned, but whose father is not. There are extant recorded traditions of the rulers before "Hwang-te," and from these we learn that the husband of Foo-paou was a prince of Shao-Tien.

The story of the descent of these earlier rulers, as Jamieson, *op. cit.* Ch. Rev. Vol. X, p. 89. taken from the Tung Kien Kang-mu of Choo-He by Jamieson, is as follows:—

"Fu-Hi's surname is said to have been Feng and his mother's name Hua Hsu."

His father is not mentioned. The origin of the second Emperor Shen Nung, is thus described:—"A prince of the Shao Tien family married a daughter of the Yu Kiao family named An Teng, who bore two sons. The eldest was called Shih Nien and, being

brought up near the Kiang river got the surname Kiang, and, ruling under the element fire, he succeeded to the Emperor Fuh-Hi and was called Yen Ti (as dynasty title). The younger brother of Shen Nung by the same mother, succeeded to his (Shen Nung's) Father as feudal prince of Shao Tien."

"In the time of Tu-Wang (one of the supposed rulers between Shen Nung and Hwang-te), the wife of the Prince of Shao Tien named Fuh-pao became pregnant by the influence of a flash of lightning." Then follows the story of the conception and birth of Hwang-te as recorded in the Bamboo Books and already referred to.

These are the legends which have been supposed by some to afford proof of a mother age in China, a time when descent was uncertain and traced through women only.

Eliminating as irrelevant the instances in which the mothers were married women, whose husbands are mentioned, and those in which the sons miraculously born were known as lineal descendants of Hwang-te, there remain only for consideration the stories of the births of Yao, and of Yü.

Yao, who, as we have seen, succeeded Ku, great-grandson of Hwang-te, was assisted in the government by Shun whose parents we have heard of. Yü, after assisting Shun in the Empire, succeeded him on the throne.

When Yao gave over the empire to Shun, and when Shun himself, in like manner, appointed Yü to be his successor, the ceremonies of surrender and

appointment in each case took place in the royal ancestral temple.

“Shun received the resignation of the emperor in the temple of the accomplished ancestor; and of Yü
Op. cit.
pp. 114
and 116. it is said:—“the prince of Hea received the appointment to be successor in the temple of the spiritual ancestor.”

It is unnecessary to labour the point that the patriarchal family and ancestral worship are found as firmly established institutions at the dawn of Chinese history.

As to Fuh-He, his father is not mentioned, but his name by birth, or surname is given.

It is to be noted moreover that none of the names of the emperors above referred to, whether those names be their birthname (surname), their personal given name, or their titles of any kind, are those of their mothers.

The motive of the stories of the miraculous births of Hwang-te, and of the births of the founders, or ancestors of succeeding dynasties, was, presumably, to show the approval of Heaven in each case particularly manifested.

Such miraculous births were not confined to royalty, but were also possible in the case of others
Shoo King,
Legge, C. C.,
Vol. III,
Pt. 1, p. 192. of eminent merit. There is a legend reminding one in part of the finding of Moses, and in part of the fate of Lot's wife, it is this:—A Princess of Sin when picking mulberries found an infant in a hollow mulberry tree. The infant

grew up to be the Chief Minister and tutor of the Emperor T'ae-kea.

His name E Yin was derived from the river E near which his parents lived.

His pregnant mother warned by a dream fled from her home, after giving the alarm to her neighbours, alone escaped from a rising flood. In her flight she turned round, saw the town where she dwelt overthrown, and was herself turned into a hollow-mulberry tree,—in which the infant was found.

Here there was no miraculous conception, and no conclusions as to “descent through females only” can be drawn from this story.

Stories of marvellous conception, such as those above related, do not necessarily belong to a period of promiscuity or undefined marital relations.

In *Totemism and Exogamy* Fraser says that some of the most primitive of existing races are entirely “ignorant of the causal relation Fraser, Totemism and Exogamy, p. 155. which exists between the intercourse of the sexes and the birth of offspring,” and he thinks that this ignorance “was, no doubt, at one time universal amongst mankind.”

Is it not most likely that this ignorance is not so profound as is supposed?

Primitive man, being, for his own safety, necessarily observant, would see that amongst the animals connection was a preliminary to birth, and that the two were closely connected and followed each other.

In the case of the first animals which he tamed, primitive man would have noticed that conception and birth almost always followed upon connection.

In his own case primitive man would observe that conception did not necessarily follow in all cases upon connection. What more logical then than to suppose that something else was necessary.

Civilized man knows little more but that there must also be a favourable condition of body and mind, which has so far eluded analysis.

It is therefore possible that many of the stories of miraculous conception had their rise in the spiritual experiences of wives who wished for sons.

Take the story of the mother of T'ang:—She, an Empress, wife of Kaou-sin, had gone with her husband to pray for a son, when she saw the swallow whose egg made her pregnant.

One can understand how in any race, believing that some external influence might ensure conception,—that external influence should be magnified, and the father's share not mentioned.

In Indian folklore tales we see evidence of a belief in such external influences; such as in the story of Prince Half-a-Son as told in *Tales of the Punjab* by Mrs. F. A. Steele. pp. 275 and 289.

In the Notes to this collection of stories a list of nostrums for procuring sons is given.

Many of the world-wide legends of the miraculous birth of heroes may, perhaps, be traceable to unrecognised paternity, mother-right, ignorance even of

the laws of nature, or the cult of polyandrous goddesses; but must every such legend, and especially those of virgin-birth, have had a like origin?

May not some of the stories be referred to a higher source?

May not weariness of the oppression of "sex" and a hope of relief therefrom, rather than ignorance of the laws of life, and tribal memory of a dark past, be assigned as the motive?

The baser origin may in all cases be suspected but let it be proved before acceptance.

The seekers after human origins must dig deep; but may they not also find the truth at times, by looking up to the stars as did the mother of Hwang-te?

The mention in the Notes to the Annals of the reign of Hwang-te of the "heavenly lady Pa," and that "He could oblige the host of spirits to come to his court and receive his orders," and that "He entertained the myriad spirits in Ming-ting the present valley of the Han-mun," show a belief in magic at the time when the Notes took shape.

Legge, C. C.
Bamboo
Books, pp.
108 and 109.

The belief in one all-powerful God, and a belief at the same time in a host of spirits, seemed no more inconsistent to the mind of classical China than it does to the minds of many to-day.

It is said in the *Book of Rites*:—

"Do not take liberties with or weary spiritual Beings. "Do not try to defend or cover over what

Li Ki. Legge, S. B. O. Part. IV, p. 73. was wrong in the past, or to fathom what has not yet arrived. A scholar should constantly pursue what is virtuous, and amuse himself with the accomplishments."

The relation of Hwang-te to the spirits whom he controlled seems to be that of King Solomon, of Western-Asian legend, to the spirits of his time.

There are in the Odes no female divinities such as one would expect to find had the Chinese passed through the stages of promiscuity postulated by McLennan.

She King, Pl. I, Bk. V, Ode III. In an ode, contrasting the beauty of queen Seuen Keang with her vicious life, it is said:—

"Majestic as a river, large and fair,
Her robes the various figured forms display.
Fit seems it she such pictured robes should wear!
But, lady, vain is all your grand array;
No claim to it eaa you, in virtue wanting, lay.

Like visitant come down from heaven, arrayed
In fashion thus, for sacrificial rite, —
Well may we goddess call her, and no earthly wight."

If there had then been any memory of a female divinity, and goddess of loose habits, in a Chinese mythology, to point the moral in this connection she would have been mentioned by name.

We have no indication of the family life of the lady Pa who, as we have seen, gave magical aid to Hwang-te in his campaigns.

Of King Muh the fifth ruler of the Chow dynasty it is said:—"In his 17th year" (985 B.C.)" he went

on a punitive expedition to Mount Keun-
 lun, and saw the Western Wang-moo.
 That year the Chief of the Wang-moo
 came to Court and was lodged in the palace of Ch'ao
 (Si Wang Mu).”—the Chinese characters which
 Legge translated as “western Wang-moo.”

Bamboo Books,
 Legge C. C.,
 Vol. III,
 Proleg., p. 150.

Mayers translates the characters as “the Western
 Royal Mother,” or “King Mu (Mother) of the West,”
 and says she was a fabulous being of the
 female sex, dwelling upon Mount Kwen-
 lun at the head of the troops of Geni, and holding
 from time to time intercourse with favoured votaries.
 She appears to be an immortal Chinese Queen of
 Sheba. This fairy goddess, according to Taoist le-
 gend, had a husband Tung Wang Kung. Mayers says
 that the “research of modern writers leads to the
 suggestion that Wang Mu was the name either of a
 region or of a sovereign in the ancient West.

Mayers,
 op. cit.,
 pp. 191-2.

In the thirty-fifth hexagram of the Yi King the se-
 cond line is supposed to refer to the “King’s Mother.”
 In Legge’s Notes on this hexagram he disagrees with
 Canon McClathie’s suggestion that the reference is
 to “The Great Ancestress of the human race,” and
 to the fact that “King’s father” and “King’s mother”
 are well-known Chinese appellations for “grand-
 father” and “grand-mother.”

The God of Ancient China, as seen in the Odes,
 is one God, dwelling in the heavens, governing and
 caring for all. Impersonal save in so
 far as the statement of his attributes

She King.
 Pt. II, Bk.
 IV, Ode VIII.

necessitates: and then, as with the Hebrews, and with us, that personality is male.

“And good is the Ruler supreme, the great God!
He hates none of the children of men.”

Un-named spirits of the air and of the land were sacrificed to, and their aid invoked.

The reverence paid to “the spirits of the land and grain” and those “of the hills and rivers,” and “of the way,” appears to be part of a nature worship brought with them by the Chinese race from their former home: though like ideas may have been held by the native tribes whom they ousted.

The sacrifices made to the “spirit of the way,” when setting out on a journey, may have been a propitiation of the old spirits of the land.

The worship of ancestors, and the attention paid to the spirits of the land did not derogate from the worship of the Supreme Ruler.

The Emperor, the Son of Heaven, was removable at the will of Heaven—expressed through the people.

The minor spirits were under the control of the Emperor and, indeed, removable by him.

Shoo King.
Legge C. C.,
pt. V. p. 593.

It is said of Yao, that out of compassion for the people “he commissioned Ch’ung and Le to make an end of the communications between earth and heaven, and the descent of spirits ceased.”

Mencius says,—“When the sacrificial victims have been perfect, the millet in its vessels all pure, and the sacrifices offered at their proper seasons, if yet there ensue drought, or the

Mencius,
Legge C. C.,
Vol. II,
p. 360.

waters overflow, the spirits of the land and grain are changed, and others appointed in their place."

Mandeville says of the people of Cathay that:—

"In that country some men have 100 wives, some sixty, some more, some less. And they take the next of kin to be their wives, save only that they take not their Mothers, their Daughters, and their Sisters on the Mother's side: but their Sisters on the Father's side by another woman they may well take, and their Brother's Wives also after their death, and their Step-Mothers also in these same Wise."

Mandeville,
(Grant 1895)
pp. 303-5.

Here some might find evidence of a once universal mother-age in China, having given place to a later patriarchy, in which however, traces such as the levirate of an earlier social order were still to be found.

From whatever source Sir John drew his information, fairly accurate no doubt, as regards some people, or peoples, subject to the Great Cham, the family life described is not that of exogamous classical China: though it is true that the kings and princes of ancient China were allowed more women than one.

Marco Polo says of the inhabitants of Campichu (modern Kansuh)—"Among these people a man may take 30 wives, more or less, if he can afford to do so, each having wives in proportion to his wealth and means; but the first wife is always held in highest consideration. The men endow their wives with cattle, slaves, money,

Yule's
Marco Polo,
Bk. I, Ch.
XLIV, p. 222.

according to their ability. And if a man dislikes any of his wives, he just turns her off and takes another. They take to wife their cousins and their father's widows (always excepting the man's own mother) holding to be no sin many things which we think grievous sins, and, in short, they live like beasts."

Yule's
Marco Polo,
Bk. II,
Ch. XLVII,
p. 45.

Of the province of Cainchi, (on the borders of modern Tibet and modern Szechuen), Marco Polo says:—

"I must tell you of a custom they have in this country regarding their women. No man considers himself wronged if a foreigner, or any other man, dishonours his wife, or daughter, or sister, or any woman of his family, but on the contrary he deems such intercourse a piece of good fortune."

Of the inhabitants of Carajan (modern Yunnan) Marco Polo says:—"They reckon it no matter for a man to have intimacy with another man's wife, provided the woman be willing."

Yule's
Marco Polo,
Bk. II Ch.
XLVIII, p. 53.

The regions referred to, though subject to the Great Cham in the days of Marco Polo, lay outside the China of the Chows, and the customs referred to are not those of the dominant race in the amalgam known as the "black-haired people."

Professor Parker, who wrote his *Comparative Chinese Family Law* in 1879, in an "Excursus on Marriage Relations" discussed the views of Maine, McLennan, Lubbock, Darwin and Herbert Spencer as to the origin of the human family; and in summarising and commenting on Spencer's views says:—

"Man though promiscuous in his sexual relations, probably always had ideas of individual possession, and the desire of groups to possess for the group must have been subordinate to and part of the desire of each member of the group to possess for himself. Promiscuity was checked by individual connections, prompted by men's likings and maintained by force. Nothing beyond temporary predominance of the stronger can arise in the absence of definite family and descent; the growth of ancestor-worship, and through that, of the religion connected therewith, is impeded."

Parker's then views as to promiscuity being a necessary transition stage in the growth of the human family, have perhaps been modified by the researches of Westernmarck, Starcke, Lang, Atkinson, Hartley and other later writers, and a reprint of his work would be of the greatest value to students of China.

Parker had, however, no doubts as to the character of the Chinese family in ancient and modern times; he says:—"We do not in the least know the origin of Chinese exogamy, *i.e.*, marriage out of the family or surname. We see no trace of polyandry; yet we have polygyny but not polygamy before us. We have traditions of promiscuity. We have rumours of the existence of a levirate, we have peculiarly strong filial affection or at least sense of duty."

"We have relationships traced almost purely through males and ancestral worship. We have,

generally speaking, a species of co-emptio in marriage."

The same author also says:—"We repeat, there is, as far as we, with our limited knowledge of Chinese History, can perceive, no trace of polyandry to be found in China, and no record or tradition of its having ever existed, notwithstanding that the nation is still exogamous, and that there are some traces of relationship having once been derived through women only."

The "rumours of the existence of a levirate," referred to by Parker, concern the Hakkas of Kwangtung, the Mohammedans living at Peking, and residents in Hwaian in Kiangsu,—races not included in classical China.

Jamieson, in this connection points out that Chapter 109 of the *Ta Ching Lū Li* (General Codes of Laws of the Chinese Empire), dealing with "Marriage with Widows of Relations" says:—

"If one takes the widow of his elder or younger brother, whether divorced, re-married or not, the penalty shall be death by strangulation."

Jamieson,
p. 83.

Mr. Jamieson says: "In view of this severe penalty it is scarcely possible that the Levirate can be practised in any part of China, as Mr. Parker says he has been informed."

It is interesting to note that by the same chapter of this comparatively modern Chinese Code the penalty for marriage with a "paternal uncle's wife"

is beheading; while for marrying the widow of a maternal uncle or sister's son the penalty is only 60 blows and one year's banishment.

The explanation of these expressed prohibitions in the Code, may well be that practices foreign to Chinese family life, but known to exist amongst the independent tribes included in the Empire, were, on that account, specially penalised.

Jamieson agrees, in the main, with Parker as to the deduction which might be made from the legends of the miraculous births of the earlier Emperors, and says: "They would seem to indicate either polyandry" (of which as we have seen Parker finds no traces) "or at least a state of things in which paternity was uncertain." Jamieson,
p. 90.

It was perhaps somewhat outside the scope of the work of either authority to subject these legends to an analysis: having done so, as appears above, I am of opinion that the legends on examination do not support the theory of a period of promiscuity.

Vol Möllendorff, who republished his *Family Law of the Chinese* in 1896, in accepting the views of Starcke as stated in "The Primitive Family in its Origin and Development," as Von Möllen-
dorff, p. 26-37. to the origin of human marriage says:—"In ancient times we find no people strictly monogamous. Polygamy was universally practised, generally without distinction between the wives, but sometimes a kind of monogamy existed side by side with permitted polygamy, *i.e.*, one wife and several concubines. . . . In China the case stands similarly. If the first wife

is barren, a concubine is purchased, but almost always with the consent of the wife."

Von Möllendorff, who was mainly concerned with the family life of modern, not classical China, says: "Amongst the lower classes in China polygamy is not the rule."

In the China of the Odes "the people" were monogamous, kings and nobles only being allowed more women than one.

CHAPTER VI.

INFANTICIDE

THE story of the exposure, by Këang Yuen the wife of the Emperor Kaou-sin, of her son "Cast Away," after prince Tseih, which has been already quoted in full, is one of the oldest records of the exposure in China of an inconvenient infant.

In this case the attempt to get rid of the "unlucky" child, a boy, is told without any reflection on the mother. The motive of the exposure as stated in the Notes to the Annals was that the mother thought "the whole thing unlucky," that is, the marvellous conception. In the case of a wife who was praying for a son to be born there could be no other motive for her action.

The story of the exposure of How Tseih is also told in the Odes, and his mother is there lauded as the "earliest of our favoured race" (the Chows), and it is said, "She grandly shone with virtue rare that nought could bend."

Although no blame is attached to Këang Yuen for the mistake she made in exposing her son, it would be rash to conclude, in the absence of other evidence, that child exposure was the recognised custom in classical China.

The repeated attempts of both Shun's parents to kill him were made when he had ceased to be an

infant: "They made him plaster a granary and set Bamboo Books, fire to it beneath: He had on birds'-
 egge C. C.,
 Vol. III. work clothes and flew away. They also
 proleg. p. 111. made him deepen a well, and filled it
 with stones from above. He had on dragons'-work
 clothes and got out by the side."

We are told of Shun in the Note to the Bamboo
 Op. cit. Books, that "the lower part of the child's
 proleg. p. 114. face was largely developed, and his ap-
 pearance altogether extraordinary."

It is interesting to note that an extraordinary ap-
 pearance was usual in ancient China in the offspring
 of miraculous conception or birth: what we should
 consider a monstrous appearance was to the early
 Chinese an indication of coming greatness: their
 heroes were not as other children.

Of King Wan, of Chow, we are told that "he had
 Op. cit. a dragon countenance, with tiger's should-
 proleg. p. 112. ers; was 10 cubits high; and had four
 nipples on his chest."

Even Shun's parents had some excuse for their
 hatred of him, if it is true as recorded, that "his
 Op. cit. p. 114. eyes had double pupils, whence he was
 named 'Double Brightness.' He had a dragon coun-
 tenance, a large mouth, and a black body, 6 cubits,
 1 inch long."

There is a Chinese story of the 7th Century B.C., a
 story of infant exposure which finds its counterpart,
 though seldom with the same happy ending, in every
 century, and in every country where there are rules
 to be broken.

The son of a Viscount of Ts'oo had an intrigue with a daughter of the Viscount of Yun, the fruit of which was a son, afterwards styled Tsze-Wan. The girl's mother "caused the child to be thrown away in the (Marsh of) Mung. There a tigress suckled him. The thing was seen by the Viscount of Yun, when hunting; and when he returned home in terror, his wife told him the whole affair, on which he sent for the child and had it cared for."

Tso-Chuen,
Legge C.C.,
Vol. V, Pt. I,
p. 297.

Darwin, in considering whether infanticide would likely prevail among primitive human beings, says: "Our early semi-human progenitors would not have practised infanticide or polyandry; for the instincts of the lower animals are never so perverted as to lead them regularly to destroy their own offspring, or to be quite devoid of jealousy."

Darwin, *Descent of Man*, reprint 1899, p. 69.

Infanticide as it occurs in modern China is the direct result of poverty or famine, some economic cause, some outside pressure, and is not an established custom: it is due to causes operating at the time of the act. There is no record of the race having for long periods been subjected to influences which would have established a custom or habit such as would be followed when the causes which inaugurated it were absent.

The maternal and paternal instincts are strong in the Chinese race and there can be no happier children in the world than those of China, except perhaps those of Japan, until the little girls go through the

agony of footbinding, where that modern custom still holds, and until formality and the classics, or a hard struggle for existence, sadden the little boys.

She King, Childhood as seen in the Odes is happy,
Legge C.C.
Pt. II, Bk. I it is said:—
Ode IV.

"For ordering of your homes,
For joy with child and wife,
Consider well the truth I tell:—
This is the charm of life."

Op. Cit. Pt. III, It was a counsel of good government
Bk. III, Ode II. for a Ruler to treat the people as if they
Op. Cit. Pt. II, were his children, "Childlike joy" should
Bk. I, Ode IV. grace the feast of brethren. In another Ode it is
said:—

"How young and tender is the child,
With his twin tufts of falling hair!
But when you him ere long behold,
That child shall cap of manhood wear!"

Op. Cit. Pt. I Bk. VIII, Ode VII

In the Odes we meet with that most human of all
Op. Cit. Pt. the appellations of the Son of Heaven.
III, Bk. III.
Ode VIII, et al. "The little child," used by the Ruler in
speaking of himself.

In the Book of Rites it is said: "The Son of Heaven,
while he has not left off his mourning, calls himself
Li Ki, "I, the little child." While alive he is so
Legge, S.B.C.
Pt. III, p. 108. styled; and if he die (during that time),
he continues to be so designated."

So full of contradictions is human nature, and so
swayed by varying emotions is the human mind,
that a deep affection for surviving children might
be found in a race practising female infanticide.

There are, however, no indications of such a practice in the Odes.

Even in times of dire distress we find no reference in the Odes to the killing of children.

In an appeal and remonstrance to Heaven in a time of grievous famine through a great drought, in an Ode assigned to King Seuen, of Chow, he exclaims:—

"The drought consumes us. People fly,
And leave their homes. Each social tie
And bond or rule is snapt."

The Bamboo Books say "in his (King Seuen's) twenty-fifth year (801 B.C.), there was a great drought, when the King prayed at the border altars and in the ancestral temple; and there was rain."

*Bamboo Books,
Legge, C.C., Vol.
III, proleg.
pp. 154, 156*

In the previous reign, that of King Le, there had been a great drought for five successive years and so great was it that we are told in a Note "that all the huts were burnt up."

In the reign of a later Seuen, a Duke of Loo, in the 6th Century B.C., there were floods, locusts, and years of famine.

In these and other times of flood and famine, recorded in the Tso Chuen, children may have been killed, but the writer has found no record of it.

We have a record, however, of the killing of children during a siege. In 592 B.C. the army of the State of Ts'oo were closely besieging the capital of Sung. The beleaguered city sent a message to the besiegers offering to make a cove-

*Legge C. C.,
Vol. V, Pt.
I, p. 328.*

nant if they would withdraw to a distance from the walls, but saying they would otherwise resist to the last. The people of the city in their defiance said: "In the city we are exchanging our children and eating them and splitting up their bones for fuel."

All the instances of child-exposure and the killing of infants to be found in the classics appear to be instances of the exercise of that power of life and death which the Chinese parents had over their children. For convenience, and through analogy, this power has been by many writers referred to as a *patria-potestas* and as such has been examined by Jamieson, von Möllendorff, Parker and Jamieson; p. 79. and it is only necessary here to repeat the warning of Jamieson that "the *patria potestas*" in China, if the term is to be employed, must be understood as covering a different area from what it did in Rome, and we must be on our guard against being led away by apparent analogies; and Jamieson notes that there is no term in the Chinese language to express the ordinary idea of *patria-potestas*.

The attempts of the parents of Shun, a grown man, to kill him, were disapproved of but they were not punished.

The recorded exposures of infants, male and female, are treated in the classics as a matter concerning the parents only, who appear to act in each case on some recognised personal motive—a personal fear, dislike, or necessity—and not in obedience to any race custom.

In the Tso Chuen we are told that "Juy, Minister of Instruction in Sung, had a daughter born to him, who was so red and hairy, that he made her be thrown away under a bank."

Legge C.C.,
Vol. V., Pt.
II, p. 525.

The girl was found and cared for, and named "Castaway," as was the great How-Tseih, son of Kiang Yuen, to whom the House of Chow traced their line.

The solemn "naming" of boys, their recognition as members of the patriarchal family and possible future ancestors of the race, would of itself protect their life and liberty. That infants at birth and before formal recognition as members of the family were not so sacred would appear to be a logical deduction from the curtailed burial and mourning rites observed in the case of those "dying prematurely."

In China adults are either those who are in their twentieth year (age, in China being reckoned from the year, not the day on which one is born, thus a person born on the last day of any year would be in his second year of his age on the first day of the next year), or those who before their twentieth year married, or held official rank.

The Li Ki refers to three categories of persons dying prematurely, those dying between the ages of sixteen and nineteen, those between twelve and fifteen, and those between eight and eleven years of age. Pierre Hoang, who takes as his text in this matter the I Ti, (12th century B.C.), gives

Li Ki, Legge,
B.C. Pt. III,
p. 125.

Pierre Hoang,
*Le Mariage
Chinois*, p. 42
et seq.

four categories, the fourth or lowest being those dying under seven years of age and over three months.

Reduced mourning was and is worn in China for those dying prematurely, and for the youngest class of such mourning is prescribed.

While not yet three months old, the age of "naming," a Chinese child would seem to have no recognised existence, no legal status.

Luxury, as we know, is a greater corrupter of the maternal instincts, which we share with the beasts that perish, than hardship. The supposition that primitive woman was weaker and less enduring than civilised woman, or indeed much hampered by child-bearing, has been discredited by modern research, and the views of C. G. Hartley in Chapter IX of her work *The Position of Primitive Society*, C.G. Hartley, Ch. IX. *Woman in Primitive Society*, and of the writers there cited, as to the value of woman in primitive society and as to their physique may be accepted.

The females of the starving, half wild, village dogs of China will suckle their pups to the last; and one may assume that the primitive women of the Chinese race retained as strongly the maternal instinct.

Infanticide as a supposed practice and custom of man in the most primitive times is not proven.

In succeeding ages children would stand in less danger of exposure, in time of distress, in any society of man in which the reverence and worship of ancestors was in course of development. The

belief in the continued existence of the dead would protect the living.

If human society were in any instance bound together by mother-right, then female children might presumably have a better chance of protection and survival than male infants; though the influence of customs as to the succession to property, if private property were already recognised, might have an opposite effect.

It is true that in patriarchal societies one would expect female infants to be less sacred; and it is so in Modern China.

CHAPTER VII.

INFANTICIDE IN MODERN CHINA

VON Möllendorff treats of Infanticide in Modern China under the heading "On the Rights of both Parents with regard to their Children,"—the *patria potestas* as it exists in China. He says:—"The *patria potestas* over children, whether legitimate or adopted, is unlimited. Von Möllendorff op. cit. p. 24. The father (or after his death the mother) can do with them as he likes; he may not only chastise, but even sell, expose, or kill them. The latter occurs often enough, especially with girls, if the family is too poor to bring them up. Infanticide is not prohibited, but whenever it spreads too far (especially in the province of Fukien) the Officials issue proclamations against it. Moreover, it is generally considered blameable, and the voice of the people is raised against persons who carry the abuse of the father's power thus far."

Parker in his comment on the above passage says:—"The exposure of male infants is rare in China, but that of female children is excessively prevalent in the provinces of Kiang Si Parker, p. 26. and Fu Kien, and not by any means unknown in the other provinces, where its frequency varies with the state of the harvest."

Parker while not agreeing with von Möllendorff

as to the practice being "not prohibited," says:—

Parker, op. cit. p. 29. "The law of *Kien Lung*, placing persons guilty of infanticide under the 319th

Article of the Code, is now either obsolete or ignored. Infanticide exists amongst the "Hakkas," wherever found, and amongst the ordinary Chinese in all the provinces, but, as already stated, more especially in the two provinces of Kiang Si and Fuh Kien. Outside the town of Foochow there is a pool near which stands a stone on which are inscribed characters signifying 'girls may not be drowned here.'"

Parker, in an excursus on the Chinese "Hsiao," filial piety, which he treats as the "faith" of China, says of the Chinaman:—"His ancestors are each of them a link which joins him to eternity, and holy China is the land in which his ancestors lie. The very expression for a life in the Chinese language 'yih t'iao ming,' 'a length or a span of life,' supports this view. His span is only a link in the chain which has existed from the times of 'Yaou' and 'Shun,' to be a portion of which distinguishes him from the beasts of the field and the fowls of the air."

"Dynasties may come and go, but the connection of each Chinese with the eternal past is not necessarily affected thereby. Each individual is theoretically, if not practically, rooted to the land, and views his connection with the past as a holy and sacred fact. This is the one feeling, which is strong, universal and unalloyed amongst all classes of Chinese, and against which Christian dogma struggles in vain for

mastery. It is thus the supreme interest of all families to be kept together. Here is the explanation of modern infanticide, whatever may have been its original cause; for women must always leave the family, whether it be to marry or assume a celibate monastic life."

Infanticide is a matter upon which authoritative writers on China differ as widely as they do on most subjects.

These varying views will be found well and shortly stated in Dr. Morrison's *An Australian in China* at pp. 129-130. Bishop Moule is quoted as saying he "has good reason to conclude that the prevalence of the crime has been largely exaggerated." Dr. Morrison's own observation of the sale of children, especially girls, as an alternative to infanticide in time of famine, will be found at pp. Morrison, *An Australian in China*, p. 100-2. 100-102. Speaking of Chaotung (in the Province of Kueichau) he says: "The infanticide is, however, exclusively confined to the destruction of female children, the sons being permitted to live in order to continue the ancestral sacrifices."

Mr. Toller informs me that on February 15th, 1918, a proclamation was issued by the Wenchow Taoyin referring to the custom of drowning girl-babies and forbidding the practice. On being questioned the Taoyin maintained that the practice existed in the district, but missionaries working in the district were not able to confirm this.

CHAPTER VIII.

MARRIAGE BY CAPTURE

JAMIESON in his notes on "Exogamy in China," quoted by Westermarck, Jamieson, *China Review* 1881, p. 95. says:—

"Of the capture of wives there is, as far as I am aware, historically no trace, nor is the form to be found among any of the ceremonies of marriage with which I am acquainted." Westermarck p. 387.

Von Möllendorff says:—"In the *She King*, or Book of Odes, we even find traces of marriage by capture;" he gave however no hint as to where those traces might be sought. Von Möllendorff op. cit. p. 1.

In the Rev. Jennings' metrical translation of the *She King* these are the lines:—

"And a maid who loveth spring-time well
By a handsome youth is trapped."

Legge in his metrical translation of the same Ode says:—

"With her thoughts of the spring comes a maid
Whom a treacherous fop watches pass."

Legge, *She King*, Pt. I. Bk. II, Ode XII.

In his prose translation of the same lines Professor Legge says:—"There is a young lady with thoughts natural to the Spring" (thinking of marriage)

"And a fine gentleman would lead her astray."

The good lady in the ballad we find was not captured, nor was there any question of marriage.

What, Legge says, she said was:—

“Hold thy hand, and beware, Sir, she cries.
Be thou civil, and haste not to wrong.
Meddle not with my handkerchief's ties.
Do not make my dog bark. Pass along.”

Kingsmill is the sinologue who most strongly held that references to marriage by capture could be found in the Chinese Classics: and he thought that there was a reference to a bride-chase in the 3rd Hexagram of the Yi King, the second line of which he says portends “as bandits they capture (for themselves) wives.”

Duke Tan of Chow, however, who assisted his father King Wan in explaining the Yi King in the twelfth century B.C. gave the indication of the second line in the 3rd Hexagram, according to Legge's translation, as follows:—

“The second line, divided, shows (its subject) distressed and obliged to return; even the horses of her
Legge, chariot (also) seem to be retreating. But
Texts of not by a spoiler (is she assailed), but by
Confucianism, one who seeks her to be his wife. The
Yi King, p. 62. young lady maintains her firm correctness, and declines a union. After ten years she will be united, and have children.”

In the twenty-second Hexagram of the Yi King,—“the fourth line divided, shows one looking as if adorned, but only in white. As if (mounted on) a white horse, and furnished with wings, (he seeks union with the subject of the first line), while (the intervening third pursues), not as a robber, but

intent on a matrimonial alliance." However, the subject of the first line is said to be a man, and therefore was not liable to "marriage by capture."

In Chinese history there are instances of capture and marriage, but they are not instances of "marriage by capture."

In 1992 B.C. in the reign of Te-Sin, the last of the Shang dynasty, "the royal forces attacked the State of Soo, and brought away Tang-ke as a captive. The king made an apartment for her, with walls of carnation stone, and the doors all adorned with gems."

Bamboo Books.
Legge C. C.
Vol. III, proleg.
p. 139.

There is a story in the Tso-Chuen which is worth re-telling for the light it throws on the freedom of choice exercised by a Chinese lady of rank in the 6th century B.C.

"Seu-Woo Fau of Ch'ing had a beautiful sister, who was betrothed to Kung-sun Ts'oo (designated Tsze-nau). Kung-sun Hih (Tsze-seih), however, also sent a messenger who violently insisted on leaving a goose at the house (a ceremony of espousal). Fau was afraid, and reported the matter to Tsze-ch'au who said, "This is not your sorrow (only); it shows the want of Government in the State. Give her to which of them you please." Fau then begged of the two gentlemen that they would allow him to leave the choice between them to the lady; and they agreed to it."

Legge, C. C.
Vol. V, Pt. II,
p. 578.

"Tsze-seih then, splendidly arrayed, entered the house, set forth his offerings, and went out."

"Tsze-nau entered in his military dress, shot an arrow to the left and another to the right, sprang into his chariot, and went out. The lady saw them from a chamber, and said, "Tsze-seih is indeed handsome, but Tsze-nau is my husband. For the husband to be the husband, and the wife to be the wife is what is called the natural course." So she went to Tsze-nau's."

Had the marriage turned out happily, a commemorative custom, in Chinese marriages, of shooting arrows might easily have arisen, to be claimed in time as a trace of marriage by capture!

The writer has the honour to concur in the opinion of Jamieson as quoted above; for of marriage by capture in China he can find no trace.

The forcible abduction of women is dealt with by the Ta Ching Lü Li, or General Code of Laws of the Chinese Empire.

Chapter 112 of the Code provides as follows:

"Whoever carries off by force the wife or daughter of a free man and compels her to become his wife or concubine, shall suffer death by strangulation after the usual term of imprisonment. The same penalty shall be inflicted, if instead of taking her himself he mates her with his son, grandson, younger brother, nephew, or domestic slave, and in either case the woman shall be returned to her proper family."

It might be thought that this provision of the Code was in itself some evidence of a former practice of capturing wives as a recognised form of marriage,

but on reading the "li," the equitable application in practice of the provisions of the "lû," the statute law, we see that the motive actuating the crime is taken to be the gain to be made by selling the women, thus abducted, to others, or it may be to avoid the payment of the bride-price—the marriage presents.

It is also provided that:—"If one singlehanded carries off and sells a woman as wife or concubine, the penalty is death by strangulation. p. 85.

The above law shall be equally applicable although the offence of abduction was preceded by a formal proposal of marriage, if the woman's family declined to accede."

If, however, the abductor is assisted by a body of confederates the principal is decapitated, the accessories being liable to death by strangulation.

The provisions of the Code and the punishments there provided clearly indicate that marriage by force is a crime, and not the survival of a once allowed custom in China.

CHAPTER IX.

NAMES AND THEIR AVOIDANCE

A name had virtue, power, and dread in ancient China. It is said in Genesis:—"And out of the ground the Lord formed every beast of the field, and every fowl of the air, and brought them unto Adam to see what he would call them: and whatsoever Adam called every living creature, that was the name thereof. And Adam gave names to all cattle, and to the fowl of the air, and to every beast of the field." Genesis II, 19, 20.

It is said in the *Li Ki*, the Book of Rites: "Hwang Ti, who gave everything its right name, thereby showing the people how to avail themselves of its qualities. Kwang-hsü who completed this work of Hwang Ti." *Li Ki*, Legge, S. B. C. Pt. IV, p. 208.

If one carries one's mind back to the time when man first spoke, made articulate sounds—not the mere expression of love, hate, or hunger—but descriptive, then one can understand something of the power of a name.

Sitting by the hearth, early man, well-fed, having had good hunting, tries to tell his mate by gestures, and sounds, of the day's hunting, and finds she understands. He wants something—water or a skin—and some day finds that even without descriptive gesture, he can name it—make it be brought.

The sound which described, which moved, which got the object is repeated with the same success; that object has now a name, and the name, in some way, is part of it.

Thereafter, the naming of a child, a new thing come fresh into the world, and as unnamed still incomplete, would be a serious matter.

Sir James Frazer, in Chapter VI, of Part II of *The Golden Bough*, "Taboo and the Perils of the Soul," says: "In fact primitive man regards his name as a portion of himself and takes care of it accordingly."

We shall see that the Chinese of Classical times retained, and acted on, the same primitive beliefs as to the name being a portion of the thing named, and as to the interrelation, if not identity, of things and persons bearing the same name, as are instanced by the author of *The Golden Bough* in regard to other primitive races.

The Book of Rites says:—

"In giving a name to a son, it should not be that of a State, nor of a day or a month, nor of any hidden ailment, nor of a hill or river."

The first names used by man were probably the onomatopoeic descriptive names of animals.

A greater mental effort would be made in naming the silent objects which he used or noticed.

Names at first would be few, and of those few some would probably have to do duty for more objects than one.

The identity of name would carry with it the idea of a common nature or essence and care would be taken in linking one object with another by the giving of the same name, lest the death or injury to the one should hurt the other.

The repeated prohibition in the *Li Ki* as to the names to be avoided in the naming of a son is a proof of the small number of names in use when children were first given a personal name of their own.

It was presumably not so much out of consideration for the child as through fear of reflected harm to the objects, or rather the guardian spirits dwelling in the objects, such as the hills or rivers whose names might not be taken, that the prohibition arose. Injury to, or the death of a child called by the same name as a mountain or a river might injure or at least disturb the spirits of the hills and streams.

The given names of persons would have to be used at certain rites, when first given for instance, again, presumably, on marriage, and certainly on death: and to pronounce a name which, by itself or in combination was associated with disease or pestilence, would be calling on the malignant spirit of the plague to appear.

The prohibition would also be for the public convenience in an age in which not only the names of the dead, but also, in a lesser degree, of the living were taboo.

One personal name was given to a Chinese child after birth; another personal name was given to a

young man when twenty years old at the ceremony of "Capping"; and if at death he was a ruler or of high rank, he received an honorary posthumous title to be used thereafter instead of his name.

In the "Pattern of the Family," the tenth book of the *Li Ki*, there is a description of the naming of a child. The description has special reference to the ceremonies on the birth of a son and heir of the Ruler of a State.

It is distinctly stated however that among the common people there was no difference in the essentials of the observances described.

The naming took place at a solemn feast three months after the birth. "Husband and wife rose early, bathed and dressed as for the feast of the first day of the month. Husband and wife having taken their places, the wife with the boy in her arms stood beneath the lintel, her face to the east. The governess then went forward and said for the lady, 'The mother so and so, ventures to-day reverently to present to you the child!' The husband replied, 'Reverently (teach him to) follow the right way.' He then took hold of the right hand of his son and named him with the smile and voice of a child. The wife responded, 'We will remember. May your words be fulfilled!' She then turned to the left, and delivered the child to his teacher, who on her part told the name all round to the wives of the relatives of all ranks who were present" . . . "The husband informed his principal officer of the name, and he in turn informed all the (young) males (of the same

surname) of it. A record was made to the effect — 'In such a year, in such a month, on such a day, so and so was born' and deposited. The Officers also informed the Secretaries of the hamlets, who made out two copies of it. One of these was deposited in the office of the village, and the other was presented to the Secretary of the larger circuit, who showed it to the Chief of the circuit; he again ordered it to be deposited in the office of the circuit."

We see that the giving of "the name of childhood" was a religious ceremony, and that the name was a personal one, and not the family name or surname.

The capping and giving of the name of maturity was also a religious ceremony and was moreover assisted at by invited investors chosen by lot, and guests, presumably of the same family name.

The ceremony could be performed even if the father of the youth were dead.

Li Ki, Legge,
S. B. C., Pt. III,
p. 316, 317, Pt.
IV, 425 *et seq.*

In the 40th Book of the *Li Ki*, "The Meaning of the Ceremony of Capping," after a reference to the importance and antiquity of the ceremony it is said: "When the capping was over he received the name of his maturity. So it was shown that he was now a full-grown man."

"He presented himself before his mother, and his mother bowed to him; he did the same before his brothers and cousins, and they bowed to him: he was a man grown, and so they exchanged courtesies with him."

It is said elsewhere in the Book of Rites:—

"The giving the name of maturity in connection with the ceremony was to show the reverence due to that name."

Li Ki, Legge, S. B. C., Pt. III, p. 438.

A girl was not "capped," and a private, not a public ceremony marked her becoming a woman.

In the "Summary of the Rules of Propriety," the First Book of the *Li Ki* it is said:—

"A son at twenty is capped, and receives his appellation" . . . "When a daughter is promised in marriage, she assumes the hair-pin, and receives her appellation."

Op. cit. p. 79.

In the "Pattern of the Family" it is said: "At fifteen, she assumed the hair-pin; at twenty she was married, or, if there was occasion (for the delay), at twenty-three."

Op. cit. p. 479.

Elsewhere in the *Li Ki* it is said: "Although not engaged to be married, the rule was for a young lady to wear the hair-pin; she was thus treated with the honours of maturity. The (principal) wife managed the ceremony."

Op. cit. Pt. IV, p. 172.

It may be convenient in our search for the reason for, or rather the ideas which gave rise to exogamy amongst the Chinese to consider next the avoidance of the names of the dead and of things offered to the spirits of the dead.

In the Book of Rites it is said:—

"When a man dies, there arises a feeling of disgust (at the corpse). Its impotency goes on to make us revolt from it. On this account there is the wrapping it in the shroud, and there are the curtains, plumes (and other ornaments of

Op. cit. Pt. III, p. 177.

the coffin), to preserve men from that feeling of disgust."

We are, however, told that "The intelligent spirit returns to Heaven; the body and the animal soul return to the earth; and hence arose the idea of seeking (for the deceased) in sacrifice and the unseen darkness and in the bright region above."

Op. cit.
p. 144.

Again it is said: "When a ruler went to the mourning rites for a minister, he took with him a sorcerer with a peach-wand, an officer of prayer with his reed (brush), and a lance-bearer, disliking (the presence of death), and to make his appearance different from (what it was at any affair of) life. In the mourning rites it is death that is dealt with, and the ancient kings felt it difficult to speak of this." And Hsien-tsze, a Minister of the State of Loo, said: "I have heard more-over that there are two grounds for the wailing; one from love, and one from fear."

Op. cit.
p. 172.

Op. cit.
p. 150.

Such being the Chinese views as to the state of the dead, and such the deep dread of the living, we can see how ancestor worship arose.

The Book of Rites says: "The object of all the ceremonies is to bring down the spirits from above, even their ancestors."

Op. cit.
p. 371.

And again, "Thus they served the dead as they served them when alive, and served the departed as they would have served them if they had been continued among them—all this was the perfection of filial duty."

Op. cit. Pt.
IV, p. 311.

The Sacrificial Odes of the Shang dynasty are the oldest in the Book of Poetry and in them, and elsewhere in the Odes, there are many references to the services in the ancestral temple, the invocation of the spirits of the great departed, their acceptance of the worship paid, and their blessing by the mouths of their "personators," chosen descendants of the same surname, of the living members of the line.

In one of the "Minor Odes of the Kingdom," describing a grand sacrifice in the ancestral temple it is said:—

She King,
Legge, PL II,
Bk. VI, Ode V.

"Before the fires some reverent stand;
Some take the mighty trays in hand;
These with the roasted flesh they fill,
Those with the livers broiled. Then still
And reverent, the queen presides,
And every smaller dish provides,
The pious feast to grace."

"The guests and visitors draw near.
Divined for, now they all appear,
And take an honoured place."

"'Tween those who personate our sires,
Our Lord, and them, as rule requires,
Once and again the cup goes round,
Each word and smile just that is found,
Which word and smile should be."

"The spirits come in quiet state,
And answer give with blessings great.
Myriads of years—his due reward—
Shall show how they our lord regard,
And keep from evil free."

Such was the worship of ancestors, a means whereby the primitive fear of the malignant ghost had been cast out by love and reverence.

By this channel did man in earliest China arise and, through his fathers, reach up to God. A step, or perchance a stumble, upon the long climb upwards is marked by the record in the Bamboo Books that when Hwang-te "went on high," Tso-che, one of his ministers, "affected by the thought of the Emperor's virtue, took his clothes, cap, bench, and stick, and offered sacrifice to them in a temple. The princes and great officers every year paid their court before them."

Bamboo Books,
Legge, C. C.,
Vol. III, p.
110, proleg.

The clothes and near belongings of the dead man with his aura still about them may have been thought to be the resting place of the lingering spirit, such as the spirit tablet of later times. One notes that even then, there were "sacrifices" and "a temple," and it is probable that regular ancestral worship had been in settled use long before the days of Yaou who "in the temple of the accomplished ancestor" resigned the charge of the empire to Shun.

Op. cit.
p. 114.

Let us now consider the perils not only of the soul, but of the body, which the black-haired race feared, and sought to avoid, not only in the beginning, but even in the days of Confucius, and Mencius—perils which have by their avoidance moulded the family life of China.

The very word death was, if possible, avoided.

The corpse on the couch is the "laid out"; when it is put into the coffin that is called "being in the long home."

Li Ki, Legge,
S. B. C., Pt. III,
p. 117, 118.

The death of the Son of Heaven is expressed by "has fallen," of a feudal prince, by "has crashed." Even the death of a winged fowl is expressed by "has fallen down."

In the same place in the Book of Rites we are told, "While (they are) alive, the names of father, mother, and wife are used; when they are dead, those of the "completed one," the "corresponding one," and the "honoured one."

Death in old age is called "a finished course"; an early death "being unsalaried."

As to the death of the "Son of Heaven,"—so called, as Legge points out, as being "Heaven-sonned; constituted by Heaven its son, its first-born" Op. cit. p. 108.—and not through courtly exaggeration, we are told his death is announced in the words, "The King by (the grace of) Heaven has fallen." In calling back (his spirit) they say "Return, O Son of Heaven." When announcement is made (to all the States) of the mourning for him, it is said: "The King by (the grace of) Heaven has gone far on high."

In the *Golden Bough*, Frazer has given many instances of the taboo attaching to the names of kings and of the special avoidance of their names after death, and he quotes Dr. Edkins, *Religion in China*, p. 35. that "the proper name of the Emperor of China may neither be pronounced nor written by any of his subjects."

Of King Wan it is said that he "in sacrificing, served the dead as if he were serving the living"
 "On the recurrence of their death-day, Li Ki, Legge, S. B. C., Pt. IV, p. 212. he was sad; in calling his father by the name, elsewhere forbidden, he looks as if he saw him."

The taboo must in the earliest times have applied not only to the names of the dead, but also to the names of the objects sacrificed to the dead, as we read that: "According to the Op. cit. Pt. III, p. 117. rules for all sacrifices in the ancestral temple, the ox is called 'the creature with the large foot'; the pig, 'the hard bristles'; a sucking pig, 'the fatling'; a sheep, 'the soft hair'; a cock, 'the loud voice'; a dog, 'the soup offering'; a pheasant, 'the wide toes'; a hare, 'the clear seer'; the stalks of dried flesh, 'the exactly cut oblations'; dried fish, 'the well-considered oblation'; fresh fish, 'the straight oblation.' Water is called 'the pure cleanser'; spirits, 'the clear cup'; millet, 'the fragrant mass'; the large-grained millet, 'the fragrant (grain)'; the sacrificial millet, 'the bright grain'; paddy, 'the admirable vegetable'; scallions, 'the rich roots'; salt, 'the saline briny substance'; jade, 'the admirable jade'; and silks, 'the exact silks.' "

The various collections of the Rules of Propriety or Ceremonial Usages which were brought together in the 2nd and 1st Centuries B.C., and which form the *Li Ki*, were the accretion of many past ages.

Many of the "rules" such as those just referred to must have been acted on from the earliest days of

Chinese life, being coeval with the "sorcerers," whose successors we find still in attendance upon the Ruler in classical times.

Had the Chinese thought, language, and script led to the easy substitution of other "words" for "water," *Golden Bough*, "salt," "millet," or "pig," then as among Part II, p. 351, the tribes instanced by Frazer, the names *et seq* and p. 393. of tabooed persons or objects would have been liable to frequent change.

In China, the name to be avoided was disused, and periphrasis took its place.

In China not only was the name part of the thing named, but it was inseparable, and as the written language is founded on ideographs, and their combinations, the written name, like the spoken name, was part of the thing named.

The primitive Chinese may, like the Cro-Magnon race, have been not only observant but artistic. If so, one cannot say how far back in time they made drawings. A few bold strokes depicting an object of the chase if repeated until recognised for what it represented would be to them a carved, or painted, name, and the foundation of a written language laid.

The reason for the avoidance by the primitive Chinese of the name of the dead would appear to *Golden Bough*, be the same as that which Frazer finds Vol. II, p. 349, *et seq.* to have been the motive for the same taboo amongst other primitive peoples, namely, "fear of evoking the ghost, although the natural unwillingness to revive past sorrows undoubtedly operates also

to draw the veil of oblivion over the names of the dead."

We have seen that in the ancestral temple the dead were invoked by name; called in order that they might attend, and, by their living representatives, the "Personators," partake of the sacrifices, join in the worship offered to the higher powers, and bless their descendants.

In an Ode describing the sacrifices in the ancestral temple of the King, or the Chief of a Clan, *She King, Legge, Pt. II, Bk. VI, Ode V.* and assigned to the 8th century B.C. it is said:—

"The dead cannot in form be there,
But there are those their part who bear,
We lead them to the highest seat,
And beg that they will drink and eat.
So shall our sires our service own,
And deign our happiness to crown,
With blessings still more bright."

"Then comes the wise priest's voice:
'The spirits all are satisfied.'
No longer in their seats abide
Their representatives, but slow,
'Mid warning bells and drums withdraw
So ends the sacrifice."

These personators of the dead represented the deceased ancestors at the great sacrifices in the ancestral temple: while so acting they were entitled to all the honour and respect which would, in life, have been paid to those they personated.

Although on their way to, and from, the sacrifice the personators were paid a special respect due to

Li Ki, Legge, S. B. C., Pt. III, p. 87. their temporary elevation, it was only in the temple itself and during the service there that they were accorded the full honours due to the deceased.

There was in China no idea of a permanent resurrection or re-incarnation of the spirit of a dead ancestor in a descendant, such as Frazer *Golden Bough*, Pt. II, pp. 365-70 notes as a belief acted on by certain American Indian tribes, and other races.

Such an idea would have been contrary to the Chinese fundamental idea of an unbroken chain of ancestral spirits, complete in each link, connecting the present with an immemorial past.

Confucius said, "In sacrificing to a full-grown man for whom there have been the funeral rites, there must be a representative, who should be a grandson; and if the grandson be too young, some one must be employed to carry him in his arms. If there be no grandson, some one of the same surname should be selected for the occasion."

The son of the deceased could not act as the personator as he himself was the "filial descendant" conducting the sacrifice.

In the "Summary Account of Sacrifices" it is said:—"According to the rule in sacrifices, a grandson acted as the representative of his grandfather. Though employed to act the part of representative, yet he was only the son of the sacrificer. When his father, with his face to the north, served him, he made clear how it is the way of a son to serve his father."

At the "sacrifice of repose" for a deceased ancestress the wife of the grandson acted as personatrix: We read that: "When seated as a personatrix (of the deceased grandmother of her husband), she did not bow with her head to her hands, but made the curtsy. When presiding at the mourning rites she did not bow with her head to her hands lowered to the ground."

*Li Ki, Legge,
S. B. C. PL. IV,
p. 73.*

Thus, in the proper place, and at stated times, invoked and placated the spirits were benignant: but the dread of the improperly summoned, the wandering and hungry soul, weighed and still weighs upon the Chinese mind.

We read that the King, for all the people, appointed the seven sacrifices; "one being for the discontented ghosts of kings who had died without posterity."

*Li Ki, Legge,
S. B. C. PL. IV,
p. 216.*

There was one occasion on which a man's name was called loud again, again, and again: and that was on his death.

In the Greater Record of Mourning Rites it is said:—

"At (the ceremony of) calling back the soul, if (the deceased were a lord on whose territory) there were forests and copses, the forester arranged the steps (by which to go up on the roof); and if there were no forests, one of the salvage men (employed about the court in menial offices) did so. An officer of low rank performed the ceremony. All who did so employed some of the court robes (of the deceased): for a ruler, the robe

*Li Ki, Legge,
S. B. C. PL. IV,
p. 174-5.*

with the descending dragon; for the wife, that with the descending pheasant; for a great officer, the dark robe and red skirt; for his recognised wife, the robe of fresh yellow; for an officer, that worn with the cap of deep purple leather; and for his wife, the dark dress with the red border. In all cases they ascended from the east wing to the middle of the roof where the footing was perilous. Facing the north they gave three loud calls for the deceased, after which they rolled up the garment they had employed, and cast it down in front, where the curator of the robes received it, and then they themselves descended by the wing on the north west" . . . "The garment which had been used in calling the soul back was not employed to cover the corpse, nor in dressing it. In calling back the soul of a wife, the upper robe with the purple border in which she had been married was not employed. In all cases of calling back the soul, a man was called by his name, and a woman by her designation."

Elsewhere it is said: "In calling the dead back, and writing the inscription (to be exhibited over the op. cit. coffin), the language was the same for all, p. 49. from the Son of Heaven to the ordinary officer. A man was called by his name. For a wife they wrote her surname and her place among her sisters. If they did not know her surname they wrote the branch-name of her family."

In the *Miscellaneous Records* it is said: "When a feudal lord was on the march and died in his lodging, they called back his soul in the same way

as in his state. If he died on the road (one) got up on the nave of the left wheel of the chariot in which he had been riding, and called it, waving the pennon of his flag.”

Op. cit.
p. 132.

The use of a garment in China, in calling back the dead, had the same object as the calling of the name, namely, to arrest the departing spirit.

This is shown by the fact that the garment used was a personal one belonging to the dead, and by the use in case of death on a journey by the pennon of the deceased only.

In the mounting upon the highest part of the roof in calling back the soul of a feudal lord who died in his house as described above, we have a “ceremony.” There is now no real hope that the spirit may be coaxed back by the call, and the display of a garment: the officer who performs the ceremony is of “low rank.” The immediate calling back of one who died on a journey by the waving of his pennoned lance seems to the writer to take one back to the time when the Chinese race first swarmed eastward.

It was in a real belief, however, that the soul might return if it had not wandered too far, that the custom of “calling back” first arose.

In most of the instances of the use of “cloths” by the Dyaks and other races to catch and wrap up spirits given in “Taboo and the Perils of the Soul,” the spirit is snared. In China, the spirit was called, and the spreading of a garment worn at some time by the dead, was to lure the wanderer home. The pennon waved from the chariot

*Golden
Bough,*
Vol. II, p. 46.

could not catch a soul, but it might guide it back from the dark regions of the north.

The "rolling up" of the garment before casting it down from the roof may have been part of a ceremony of calling back the soul of the sick, in which case, the soul, on its supposed return to the garment would be wrapped up to secure it.

The calling back of the strayed soul of a sick child at Amoy in China, by mounting the roof and calling
Op. cit. the name, waving a garment of the child,
P. 60. is described by J. J. M. de Groot in *The Religious System of China* and noted by Frazer.

The view of Confucius and his disciples as to "calling back" is as follows:—

"Calling (the soul) back is the way in which love receives its consummation, and has in it the mind
Li Ki, Legge, S. B. C., Pt. III, p. 167. which is expressed by prayer. The looking for it to return from the dark region is a way of seeking for it among the spiritual beings. The turning the face to the north springs from the idea of its being in the dark region."

In continuing our examination of the Chinese taboos on the use of names we find that:—

"When the wailing is over, the name of the deceased is avoided. The service of him as living is
Op. cit. p. 190. over, and that for him in the ghostly state has begun. When the wailing is over, the cook, with a bell having a wooden clapper, issues an order throughout the palace, saying 'Give up disusing the names of the former rulers, and hence-

forth disuse (only) the name of him who is newly deceased.' "

The "wailing" referred to was not the first outburst of grief from those present at death, while the dead still lay upon the ground on which he had been placed in *articulo mortis*, but the regulated "keening" of the principal mourner, the other near relatives of the deceased, and condoling visitors. The rules for wailing are given in precise details in the Book of Rites.

*Li Ki, Legge,
S. B. C. Pt. IV,
p. 173.*

The men leaped and wailed, the women beat their breasts and wailed. The men at stated times, also bared the left arm and shoulder.

*Op. cit. Pt. III,
pp. 159, 315,
et al.*

The mourners "fall to their leaping morning and evening," and the "morning offerings were set forth (beside the body) at sunrise; the evening when the sun is about to set."

*Op. cit. p. 160.
Op. cit. p. 167.*

The slanting rays of the rising and setting sun may have seemed to the primitive Chinese, as to the races mentioned in the *Golden Bough*, pathways to the unseen.

*Golden Bough,
Vol. II, pp.
42 & 61.*

The wailing began after the "calling back" of the soul, and it ended after the interment and the first "sacrifice of repose" had been offered; when the "spirit tablet" of the deceased was placed in the shrine in the ancestral temple.

At this sacrifice of repose the "personator of the dead" was appointed and "a stool with a mat and viands on it is placed (for him)."

*Li Ki, Legge,
S. B. C.
Pt. III, p. 182*

It was only Kings, Rulers, and the higher Officers
 Op. cit. who had ancestral temples of their own,
 Pl. IV.
 p. 206. distinct from that of the head of their
 family or of their Clan.

In the "Law of Sacrifice" it is said: "The mass
 of ordinary officers and the common people had
 no ancestral temple. Their dead were left in their
 ghostly state, (to have offerings presented to them
 in the back apartment, as occasion required)."

The despairing cry "come back" sent up the wind
 to the north had become part of a "ceremony," but
 the avoidance thenceforth of the name then used was
 in obedience to a living law, a still binding taboo.

The royal cook in ancient China was not, as was
 the man who mounted on the roof, an "officer of
Li Ki, Legge, low rank." It is said in the Book of Rites,
 S. B. C. Pl. III,
 p. 368. "At the first use of ceremonies they began
 with meat and drink." We are told that "If a Ruler
 were feasting with his kindred, then all of a different
 kindred were received as guests. The cook acted as
 master of ceremonies."

In an Ode assigned to the ninth century B.C. the
She King, Chief Cook ranks with, but after, the
 Legge,
 Pl. III, Bk. III, Master of the Horse, and the Commander
 Ode IV. of the Guards, Heads of Departments.

In the Bamboo Books we have the story of how in
 the 20th century B.C., the Empress Min, wife of the
 murdered Emperor Seang, fled with her infant son
 Shaou K'ang; and of how, when grown up, he became
 chief herdsman in Jing, and later chief cook in the

State of Yu, where Tsze gave him his two daughters in marriage and the City of Lun.

In China, as in the folk-lore of other lands, the dispossessed and wandering prince having faithfully served in field, or kitchen, marries the King's daughter and, returning to his own kingdom, reigns happily ever after.

Legge C. C.,
Vol. V., Pt. I,
p. 173.

The chief cook in China was, however, no scullion; we find, as late as 611 B.C., the chief cook interfering in the succession, heading a palace revolution, and with the assistance of the chief eunuch and some "officers of the interior" setting up his nominee as Marquis of Ts'c.

The Chinese of classical times were, as now, fond of good fare, as the festal odes, and the recipes given in the "Pattern of the Family" for all sorts of ordinary fare, and for the preparation of special delicacies for the aged, attest.

Li Ki,
Legge,
S. B. C.,
Pt. III, pp.
159-161,
168-70.

The important and special position of the cook in ancient China must, the writer thinks, have been due to his relation to the objects of sacrifice. This view is confirmed by the description of the consecration of a temple, given in the Book of Rites.

"When a temple was completed it was consecrated by the shedding of blood, the ceremony was performed by the officer of prayer, the cook and the butcher, who all wore the cap of leather of the colour of a sparrow's head, and the dark coloured dress with the purple border. The butcher rubbed the sheep clean, the officer of prayer

Li Ki, Legge,
S. B. C., Pt.
IV, pp. 169-70.

blessed it, and the cook with his face to the north took it to the pillar and placed it to the south-east of it."

The victim was killed by the butcher on the middle point of the roof "so that the blood ran down in front."

The great apartment of a palace was inaugurated by a feast, but there was no shedding of blood.

"The consecration by blood of the temple building was the method taken to show how intercourse with the spirits was sought."

This aspect of the cook's office and his early rank and importance appear to have been lost sight of in *Mencius*. Legge, time, and we find Mencius rejecting as C. C., Vol. II, p. 237. absurd the story that the sage E Yin, of whose birth and finding in a mulberry tree we have heard, first came to the notice of his sovereign as a cook. Moreover we are told that the father of the princess who found E Yin, gave the infant to his cook to bring up.

CHAPTER X.

A DIGRESSION AS TO CERTAIN "SURVIVALS."

WHY had the bell which announced the avoidance of the dead ruler's name a wooden and not an iron clapper? The answer may be found in that tendency and desire to retain in ceremonial use the utensils which were first used in, and were handed down from, a remote past. There may be more than such a desire, it may be a belief that if the old way were not followed the rule would not be properly performed, and that evil would befall.

The bell with the wooden tongue is heard also in the *Proceedings of Government in the Different Months*. This book describes the works of nature and of man during the months of a year, from Spring to Winter, and their interrelation. The seasonal sacrifices are detailed, and rules are laid down as to the daily life, clothing and food of the Son of Heaven.

Any omission or improper observance of the prescribed ceremonies at their due seasons would, it is said, entail drought and flood, famine and disease.

In ordering the ceremonies and work appropriate to the vernal equinox, in the second month of Spring it is said: "In this month day and night are equal. Thunder utters its voice, and lightning begins to be seen. Insects in their burrows are all in motion, opening their doors and

*Li Ki, Legge,
S. B. C. Pt. III,
p. 259.*

beginning to come forth. Three days before the thunder, a bell with a wooden tongue is sounded, to give notice to all the people. 'The thunder,' it is said, 'is about to utter its voice. If any of you be not careful of your behaviour, you shall bring forth children incomplete; there are sure to be evils and calamities.'"

Legge's note is, "We are not told how they knew this third day."

The weather lore of China is to this day uncanny in its certainty, but it is possible that, when first the warning was uttered, a "bull-roarer" made mistake impossible.

When Chung-Kang the fourth sovereign of the Hea dynasty sent, in 1916 B.C., the prince of Yin to *Shoo King*, punish He and Ho, the hereditary ministers of astronomy, for neglect of their *Legge, C. C.,* Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 161. duty, which had resulted in disturbances in the heavens and calamity to the State, the Emperor in his announcement to the forces said: "Every year in the first month of Spring, the herald with his wooden-tongued bell goes along the roads, proclaiming, 'Ye officers able to direct, be prepared with your admonishment. Ye workmen engaged in mechanical affairs, remonstrate on the subject of your business! If any of you disrespectfully neglect this requirement, the country has regular punishment for you.'"

In the *Confucian Analects*, the border warden at E, having had an audience with Confucius, then retiring

from office in the State of Wei, compares him to a herald and says to the disciples of the Sage: "Heaven is going to use your Master as a bell with its wooden tongue."

Confucian Analects,
Legge, C. C.
Vol. I, p. 28.

Legge, in a note in the passage, above quoted, from "The Punitive Expedition of Yin," says: —The "wooden tongued bell was used for civil peaceful objects: in war a metal tongued bell was used."

Shoo King,
Legge, C. C.
Vol. III,
Pt. I, p. 164.

In the volume *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul* in his *Golden Bough* Frazer says: "This superstitious objection to iron perhaps dates from that early time in the history of society when iron was still a novelty, and as such was viewed by many with suspicion and dislike."

The wise men, whose thoughts are preserved in the *Book of Rites*, held the same opinion.

In Book VII of the *Li Ki* "Ceremonial Usages; Their Origin, Development and Intention" it is said:

"Formerly the ancient Kings had no houses. In Winter they lived in caves

Li Ki, Legge,
S. B. C. Pt.
III, p. 369.

which they had excavated, and in Summer in nests which they had framed. They knew not yet the transforming power of fire, but all the fruits of plants and trees, and the flesh of birds and beasts, drinking their blood, and swallowing also the hair and feathers. They knew not yet the use of flax and silk, but clothed themselves with feathers and skins."

"The later sages then arose, and men (learned) to take advantage of the benefits of fire. They moulded the metals and fashioned clay, so as to rear towers

with structures on them, and houses with windows and doors. They toasted, grilled, boiled, and roasted. They produced must and sauces. They dealt with the flax and silk so as to form linen and silken fabrics. They were thus able to nourish the living, and to make offerings to the dead; to serve the spirits of the departed and God. In all these things we follow the example of that early time."

In describing how the order of sacrifice in the ancestral temple had relation to and preserved a record of this progress from the most primitive to later usage, it is said: "They proceed to their invocations, using in each the appropriate terms. The dark-coloured liquor is employed in (every) sacrifice. The blood with the hair and feathers (of the victim) is presented. The flesh, uncooked, is set forth on the stands. The bones with the flesh on them are sodden, and rush mats and coarse cloths are placed underneath and over the vases and cups. The robes of dyed silk are put on. The must and clarified liquor are presented. The flesh roasted and grilled is brought forward. The ruler and his wife take alternate parts in presenting these offerings, all being done to please the souls of the departed, and constituting a union (of the living) with the disembodied and unseen."

In giving instances of the survival, in the ceremonies at the ancestral temple and the sacrifices there offered in the most solemn rites of the usages of the earliest times of rude simplicity, it is said "There were the blood at the border

Li Ki, Legge,
S. B. C. Pl.
III, p. 371.

Op. cit.
p. 417.

sacrifice; the raw flesh in the great offering of the ancestral temple."

There seems no good reason to doubt that in the order of sacrifice and service in the worship of ancestors in China we have a genuine survival and not merely the conscious pageantry of a supposed past.

In the VIIIth Book of the *Li Ki*, that treating of ceremonial usages, already quoted from, after describing how ceremonies first began with meat and drink, and how their earliest ancestors, by an earthen drum, struck with a handle of clay, were yet "able to express by them their reverences for spiritual beings," it is said "(By and bye), when one died, they went upon the house-top, and called out his name in a prolonged note saying, 'Come back so and so.' After this they filled the mouth (of the dead) with uncooked rice and (set forth as offerings to him) packets of raw flesh." Op. cit.
pp. 368-9

Hsu Shih-tsang, as quoted by Legge in a note on the passage says, "The paragraph teaches us that the burial and other mourning ceremonies were not inventions of later sages, but grew from the natural feelings and sorrow of the earliest men."

In China "A servant on death, plugged the mouth open with a spoon of horn"; and it is said in another passage of the *Book of Rites* "Filling the mouth with rice uncooked and fine shells arises from a feeling that cannot bear that it should be empty. The idea is not that of giving food; and therefore these fine things are used." Op. cit. Pt. IV.
p. 181.
Op. cit. Pt. III,
p. 168.

In the *Book of Rites*, as we know, it is said: "The intelligent spirit returns to heaven; the body and animal soul return to earth." It was the intelligent spirit which was "called back," and the filling of the mouth by the Chinese, as with those races who seal up the mouth of the dead, as noted by Frazer, may *Golden Bough*, have originated in a fear of that older Pt. II, p. 31. and darker animal soul which lingers and which men knew and dreaded ages before.

In time the filling of the mouth became a matter of regulated ceremonial; we read in the Miscellaneous *Li Ki*, Legge, Records: "The mouth of the son of S. B. C., Pt. IV, p. 164. Heaven was stuffed after death with nine Op. cit. p. 145. shells; that of a feudal lord, with seven; Op. cit. p. 464. that of a great officer with five; and that of an ordinary officer, with three." "A flat round piece of jade,"—that stone in which Confucius himself said was to be found "the likeness of all excellent qualities"—was also used for the same purpose, and ceremonially sent by Rulers as a special favour on the death of an honoured officer.

Any doubts as to the unbroken chain of usage which connected China of the Odes, and the later classics, with the earliest days of human society would be dispelled by noting such other survivals as the retention of the fire-stick, and the interment of the living with the dead.

The "Pattern of the Family" in describing the mourning toilet of men and women, prescribed the *Li Ki*, Legge, "articles for use" to be worn on the girdle S. B. C., Pt. III, p. 449-450. and there includes "the borer for getting

fire from wood" as well as "the metal speculum for getting fire from the sun."

Confucius in commending those who made the utensils and instruments used in connection with the burial of the dead, "vessels to the eye of the fancy"—not such as could really be used, said: "Alas! if for the dead they had used the vessels of the living, would there not have been a danger of this leading to the interment of the living with the dead?"

In the same connection it is said: "From of old there were the carriages of clay and the figures of making of the straw figures was good and straw "Confucius said that the that the making of the (wooden) automaton was not benevolent. Was there not a danger of its leading to the use of living men?"

Confucius, who so revered the Odes, which it is said he collected in their present form, cannot have forgotten the saddest of them all, the terrible story of the three worthy brothers who, in 619 B.C., were buried alive in the same grave with Duke Muh.

Tso Chuen,
Legge, C. C.,
Vol. V, Pt. I,
p. 244.
She King,
Legge, Pt. I,
Bk. XI, Ode
VI, p. 162.

"They flit about, the yellow birds,
And rest upon the jujubes find.
Who buried were in Duke Muh's grave,
Alive to awful death consigned?
'Mong brothers three who met that fate,
'Twas sad the first Uen-seih, to see.
He stood alone; a hundred men
Could show no other such as he.
When to the yawning grave he came,
Terror unnerved and shook his frame."

Legge, in a note to this Ode, in his prose translation, published in 1871, adopts the view of the "Historical
 Legge, C. C., Records" that the barbarous practice
 Vol. IV, Pt. I, began with Duke Muh's predecessor Duke
 p. 199. Ching, and that the House of Ts'in adopted it from
 the barbarous tribes among whom they had dwelt.

In the *Li Ki*, however, Legge's translation of which was published in 1885, we have references to living burial which cannot be so explained.

There is the story of how Khan Tsze-Khang, a disciple of Confucius, by a grim jest saved the lives of those whom the widow and principal officer of Khan Tsze-kü wished to bury with their master.

They said "When the master was ill, (he was far away) and there was no provision for his nourish-
 Li Ki, Legge, ment in the lower world; let us bury some
 Pt. III, S.E.C. persons alive (to supply it)." Tsze-
 p. 182. khang said, "To bury living persons (for the sake of the dead) is contrary to what is proper. Nevertheless, in the event of his being ill, and requiring to be nourished, who are so fit for that purpose as his wife and steward?"

There is also the story of the son who disobeyed his father's dying injunction to make his coffin large
 op. cit. and make his two concubines lie in it with
 p. 181. him "One on each side." The son said: "To bury the living with the dead is contrary to propriety; how much more must it be so to bury them in the same coffin!"

The use of the men of straw and wood "from of old" and the instances of actual and attempted burial

of the living show that even in the time of Confucius the "figures of fancy" had not entirely taken the place of their living prototypes.

It may well be that the barbarous practice and example of the House of Ts'in encouraged a return to a custom elsewhere fallen into humane disuse.

In the *Proceedings of Government in the Different Months*, we read that in the third month of Spring—"Orders are given for the ceremonies against pestilence throughout the city; at the nine gates (also) animals are torn in pieces in deprecation (of the danger) to secure the full development of the (healthy) airs of the Spring."

Op. cit.
p. 266.

This is the story of how Duke Mu of 'Tu, in the 4th Century B.C. wished to expose a deformed person in the sun, to move the pity of Heaven in a time of drought, and on being remonstrated with by his minister Hsien-tsze, suggested a witch as a fitting object for such exposure, but was again dissuaded.

Li Ki, Legge,
S.B.C. Pt. III,
p. 201.

Confucius, himself, the sage who had "penetrated to the fundamental principles of ceremonies and music till he had reached the five extreme points to which they conduct, and the three that have no positive existence"—"The music that has no sound; ceremonial usages that have no embodiment; the mourning that has no garb"—even he in his conduct at times showed a survival from the primitive.

Op. cit.
Pt. IV,
pp. 278-9.

It is said, "When the villagers were driving away pestilential influences, Confucius would stand at the top of his eastern steps, in his court robes, to keep the spirits (of his departed) undisturbed in their shrines."

Frazer in a section of his second volume dealing with the "Disposal of Cut Hair and Nails" quotes J. J. M. de Groot who in *The Religious System of China* notes the pains taken by the Chinese to preserve corpses entire and free from decay, a practice, which de Groot considers, rested on a firm belief in the resurrection of the dead.

What the *Li Ki* says is as follows: "The (accumulated) hair and nails of a ruler or great officer were placed (in bags) at the four corners of the coffin; those of an officer were buried (without being put into the coffin)."

Frazer gives many instances of people who conceal clipped hair and nail parings as a safeguard against magic being wrought with them against those from whom they had been taken, and of the various modes of their concealment and disposal.

It is more likely that the motive in the case of the Chinese had been originally the same, and that such burial was merely a mode of final disposal of them as parts of the body to which they belonged.

That the Chinese had any idea of a future resurrection of the actual body which they interred would be contrary to the explicit statement of Confucius himself in this matter as given in the *Book of Rites*.

"All the living must die, and dying, return to the ground; this is what is called *kwei*. The bones and flesh moulder below, and, hidden away, become the earth of the fields. But the spirit issues forth, and is displayed on high in a condition of glorious brightness. The vapours and odours which produce a feeling of sadness (and arise from the decay of their substance) are the subtle essences of all things, and (also) a manifestation of the *shan* nature."

Li Ki, Legge,
S.B.C. PL. IV,
p. 220.

Confucius said that the mourning sacrifice of burnt fat and southernwood "served as a tribute to the (intelligent) spirit"—the *shan*; while the offerings of meat and drink "served as a tribute to the animal soul"—the *kwei*.

Op. cit
p. 221.

It may be asked why then was food placed in the coffin, and why had the living been buried with the dead? The animal soul which lingered was doubtless that first thought of by primitive man, and the "scorched grain" put in the coffin, or rather the spirit of that grain, was meant as food for the *kwei*. With the idea that life beyond the grave was a continuation elsewhere of life here, and with similar needs, the soul of a departed ruler would require the service, not of living but of dead attendants: this is the very motive stated by the widow of whom we have read, who wished to supply her husband with attendants in the next world.

The burning of paper palanquins, horses, clothes and money at the graveside, still in practice in China, is in accordance with this idea. The objects burnt

are indeed only "vessels to the eye of the fancy," but it is thought that the essence of them, which ascends in smoke—their spirits—will serve the spirit of the departed when he has gone.

Strangulation in China is a lesser punishment than decapitation: It is the spirit of the criminal and not his resurrected body which would in the case of mutilation have to seek for its severed head.

In the *Golden Bough* instances are given of the races who will not shed royal blood upon the ground, *Golden Bough*, Vol. II, pp. 241, 242. and Marco Polo and Friar Bicold are quoted in their references to the observance of this taboo by Kublai Khan and the Tartars.

The same rule was followed in classical China, it is said: "When one of the ruler's kindred was found *Li Ki*, Legge, S.B.C., Pt. III, p. 356. guilty of a capital offence he was hanged by some one of the foresters' department. If the punishment for his offence were corporal infliction or dismemberment, it was also handed over to the same department. No one of the ruler's kindred was punished with castration."

That most ancient form of justice, the blood feud, was in full force in classical times. Confucius, when *Op. cit.* asked how a son should conduct himself p. 140. with reference to the man who had killed his father or mother, said: "He should sleep on straw, with his shield for a pillow; he should not take office; he must be determined not to live with the slayer under the same heaven. If he meet with him in the market place or the court, he should not have to go back for his weapon, but (instantly) fight with him."

The blood-feud was binding on high and low alike. In 684 B.C. Duke Sëang of Ts'e "extinguished" the State of Ke to avenge his remote ancestor Duke Gae nine generations back, who, through being slandered by a former Marquis of Ke, had been "boiled" at the Court of Chow.

Legge, C. C.,
Vol. V, Pt. I,
Proleg, p. 69.

The revenge of Duke Sëang was approved by the Chinese commentators who said that even after a hundred generations, there being then, in the time of "The Warring Kingdoms" no "intelligent Son of Heaven" to dispense justice, and the Ruler and the State being one—Duke Sëang would have acted rightly.

In commenting on the careful concealment of a man's "true name" by the ancient Egyptians, Frazer says, their "comparatively high civilization was strangely dashed and chequered with relics of the lowest savagery."

Golden
Bough, Pt. II,
p. 28.

So it was in China when from their first appearance in the north-west to the present day, there has been no real disturbance of Chinese life and civilization. The race has for thousands of years occupied the same valleys; dynasties have come and gone, but no alien civilization has made its impress upon them.

The people lived in the same way, tilling their fields, in the times of the "Warring Kingdoms," just as our own country people did in the Civil Wars.

There are deeds of noble daring, devotion to duty, chivalry and romance in the records of classical China.

When the hosts of Ts'oo invaded the State of Woo, and put its army to flight, Shang Yang, the Director *Li Ki, Legge, S.B.C., Pt. III, p. 136.* of Works in Ts'oo, who was in the same chariot with the King's son, was told by him to take his bow in hand and shoot. He did so, and killed one fugitive, then put back his bow in its case. Again ordered to shoot, he killed two more men; he then stopped the chariot saying, "the death of three men will be sufficient for me to report." Confucius said of him, "Amidst his killing of men he was still observant of the rule of propriety."

We are told that, "Anciently, armies in their incursions and attacks did not hew down (trees about the) *op. cit.* places of sacrifice; did not slay sufferers *p. 178.* from pestilence; did not make captives of those whose hair was turning."

We are also told that "When (the army of) a great State was passing by a small city, the rule was that *Legge, C. C., Vol. V, Pt. I, Proleg., p. 72.* that small city should man its walls and ask what was its offence;" and we hear of the Viscount of Woo who, when going to invade Ts'oo, tried to enter the gate of Ch'aou on his way; the gate-keeper drew and shot him. It is held that the Viscount was to blame for his careless exposure of himself, while the city was to blame for not manning its walls as the rules of war required.

There is a story of an Earl of Ch'ing which might *op. cit. p. 46.* have been chronicled by Froissart.

The king having tried to deprive the earl of his share in the government of the kingdom, the earl withstood the king and vanquished him and his

feudatories. The king, though himself wounded by an arrow, retreated still fighting. The earl, though pressed to do so, refused to push his advantage, and that night sent a nobleman to comfort the king and ask after the welfare of his officers.

There are also records of cruel savagery—a direct inheritance from the earliest times. There is the story of Wan of Sung who had murdered his Ruler and set up another Duke: being worsted in a war of revenge, he fled, with his mother, to the State of Ch'in. Through bribery the people of Ch'in were persuaded to give him up, they "employed a woman to make him drunk, and then bound him up in a rhinoceros' hide. By the time he reached Sung, his hands and feet appeared through the hide. The people of Sung made pickle both of him and Mäng-hwöh (a fellow conspirator)."

In B.C. 639 the Duke of Sung had a meeting of the Princes, Rulers of State, summoned. Few States were represented at the meeting; the Viscount of Tsang came too late for the meeting but accepted the covenant made; nevertheless the Duke of Sung "made Duke Wan of Choo sacrifice the Viscount of Tsang at an altar on the bank of the Suy, to awe and draw to him the wild tribes of the east." This was done in spite of the remonstrance of the Duke of Sung's own brother, his Minister of War, who said "Anciently, the six domestic animals were not used at the same sacrifice; for small affairs they did not use great victims: how much less would they presume to use a human being!"

Op. cit.

p. 89.

Legge, C. C.,
Vol. V, Pt. 1,
pp. 176-7.

Sacrifices are offered for the benefit of men. Men are the hosts of the spirits at them. If you sacrifice a man, who will enjoy it?" If this record stood by itself one would have a very imperfect understanding of the times and the men who lived in them. This very same duke, with a high sense of chivalry, refused, three years after this human sacrifice, to attack his enemies in the act of crossing a river and before they had drawn up in battle array, again over-ruling the counsel of his brother, saying "I am but the poor representative of a fallen dynasty, I would not sound my drums to attack an unformed host:" the fallen dynasty was that of Shang.

In B.C., Ke P'ing-tsze, the chief of the House of Keshun, one of the three great clans who controlled the
 Legge, C. C., State of Loo, "Invaded Ken, and took
 Vol. V, Pt. II, Kang. In presenting his captives, he for
 p. 629. the first time sacrificed a human victim at the
 altar of Poh." This altar of Poh was one to the
 memory of the Shang dynasty. On the overthrow of
 Shang and on the founding of the Chow dynasty
 altars of Poh were founded in each State as a warn-
 ing to the Princes to guard against conduct such as
 that which had resulted in the loss of the kingdom
 to Shang.

Legge says that sacrifices were not offered at them,
 op. cit. yet here we have a human sacrifice offered
 p. 805. at the altar of Poh in the State of Loo.

This sacrifice by Ke P'ing-tsze is recorded with disapproval. "The disregard of the people in this

must be pronounced excessive. Thus using men as victims, who will confer a blessing (on Loo)?"

Human life was lightly regarded in the time of the "Warring States," but still it was only proper to kill in the customary ways—in war, revenge, or political assassination.

CHAPTER XI.

FURTHER OF NAMES AND THEIR AVOIDANCE

WE have seen that the use of names of former rulers, till then forbidden, could be resumed upon the death of the newly deceased ruler, and upon the announcement that his name was to be thenceforth avoided.

The lifting of the taboo on the use of names of "former Rulers" may have been due to the eminently practical nature of the Chinese—a concession to public utility—or it may have been due to an idea that the danger to be apprehended from the accidental calling of their spirits, by the use of words comprising their names, was the less as they receded further into the ghostly state from which they could be summoned by solemn service in the ancestral temple.

In the *Golden Bough* instances are given of how the avoidance of names of the dead has interfered with historical tradition:

"The Klamath people possess no historic traditions going further back in time than a century, for the simple reason that there was a strict law prohibiting the mention of the person or acts of a deceased individual using his name."

A. S. Gatschet,
as quoted in
Golden Bough,
Pt. II, p. 363.

The ancestral worship of the Chinese with its careful preservation of the tablets of ancestors, their invocation of the great dead and their celebration in festal odes, would in any case have obviated such a

result of the avoidance in ordinary life of the names of the dead.

It is said in the *Book of Rites*: "In (reading) the books of poetry and history, there need be no avoiding of names, nor in writing compositions. In the ancestral temple there is no such avoiding." And again "At all sacrifices, and in the ancestral temple, there was no avoiding of names. In school there was no avoiding of any character in the text."

In the *Golden Bough*, quoting Spencer and Gillen's *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, it is said: "No one may utter the name of the deceased during the period of mourning . . . If the ghost hears his name mentioned, he concludes that his kinsfolk are not mourning for him properly, if this grief were genuine they could not bear to bandy his name about."

In the *Book of Rites* it is said: "When Tsze-phu died, the wailers called out his name Mich. Tsze-kao said, 'so rude and uncultivated are they!' On this they changed their style."

Tsze-kao was a disciple of Confucius and it is interesting to note how a taboo which had its origin in a real fear, was becoming a rule of decorum, a matter of "good form."

In the "Miscellaneous Records" it is said: "After the wailing was ended, there commenced the avoiding of certain names. (An officer) did not use the name of his (paternal) grandfather or grandmother, of his father's brothers or

Li Ki, Legge,
S.B.C., Pt. III,
p. 93.

Op. cit.
Pt. IV,
p. 18.

*Golden
Bough*, Pt. II,
p. 351.

Li Ki, Legge,
S.B.C., Pt. III,
p. 153.

Li Ki, Legge,
S.B.C., Pt. IV,
p. 161.

uncles or his father's aunts or sisters. Father and son agreed in avoiding all these names. The names avoided by his mother the son avoided in the house. Those avoided by his wife he did not use when at her side. If among them there were names which had been borne by his own paternal great-grandfather or great-granduncles, he avoided them (in all places)."

In the "Summary of the Rules of Propriety" it is said, "When the ceremony of wailing is over, a son should no longer speak of his deceased father by his name. The rules do not require the avoiding of names merely similar in sound to those not to be spoken. When (a parent had) a double name, the avoiding of either term (used singly) is not required. While his parents (are alive), and a son is able to serve them, he should not utter the names of his grandparents; when he can no longer serve his parents (through their death), he need not avoid the names of his grandparents. Names that would not be spoken (in his own family) need not be avoided (by a great officer) before his ruler; in the great officer's however, the names proper to be suppressed by the ruler should not be spoken."

Op cit.
Pl. III,
p. 92.

In the "Royal Regulations" it is said: "The Grand Recorder had the superintendence of ceremonies. He was in charge of the tablets of record and brought before the king what (names) were to be avoided, and what days were unfavourable (for the doing of particular affairs). The Son of Heaven received his admonitions with reverence."

Li Ki, Legge.
S.B.C., Pl. III,
pp. 238-9.

The great exception to the taboo on the names of the dead was, as we have seen, the use of their names in the ancestral temple or at commemorative services in the "principal apartment" in the homes of those who had no special ancestral temples of their own: the reason being that, then and there, the attendance of the spirits of the dead was desired.

As to the non-avoidance of the names of the dead when reciting the classics in the schools:—When *Mencius*, Duke Wan of Tang asked Mencius to *Legge, C. C.,* advise him as to the proper way of *Vol. II, p. 115* governing a kingdom, the Sage said first *et seq.* ensure the people a livelihood by just land laws and then educate them. Mencius told the duke that the village schools and higher schools had been maintained since the days of Yü of Hsia (20th Century B.C.).

The colleges of the States were used for the instruction of the higher students in the humanities including elocution, music and ceremonial dancing: and it was in these colleges that the aged were honourably entertained.

"Fair is the pool, half circling round
The college of our land."

.

"On wing they come, those owls, and rest
Our college trees among.
Our mulberry fruits they eat with zest,
Grown birds of sweetest song."

Legge, She King, Pt. IV, Bk. II, Ode III.

In the "Royal Regulations," and in the "Record on the Subject of Education" the duties of the Minister of Instruction and the methods of competitive examination are detailed.

Li Ki, Legge,
S.B.C., PL. III,
pp. 231-5.
Op. cit. PL. IV,
pp. 82-91.

We also hear in the *Book of Rites* of how a young lady, already instructed by her governess in manners, needlework, cooking and attendance at ceremonies, since the age of eight, for three months before her marriage, was taught in "the temple of the high ancestor of her surname" or "in the public hall of the Head of that branch of the surname to which she belonged," "the virtue, the speech, the carriage, and the work of a wife."

Op. cit.
p. 432.

Whether this special training of a bride was a modified survival of a ceremony of initiation or the wise provision of modern times, there is no doubt of the importance which the Chinese attached to education and one can understand the exception allowing in school the use of names otherwise forbidden: the souls of the mighty dead hovering near the spirit tables in the ancestral temple, or further off in their ghostly state, would not be disturbed by the chorus of small boys shouting out texts from the Odes. If a name in the classics happened to be also the name of a village worthy more recently deceased, the risk of his annoyance and revenge had to be suffered in the interests of historical accuracy.

Mencius said a teacher was more to be regarded than a Minister of State.

Mencius,
Legge, C. C.,
Vol. II, p. 216.

In the *Analepts* it is said of Confucius: "There were four things which the Master taught, letters, ethics, devotion of soul, and truthfulness."

Analepts. Legge, C. C., Vol. I, p. 202. As to truth the Sage himself, in the Legge, C. C., *Spring and Autumn Annals*, may at Vol. V, Pl. II, p. 513.

times, as Legge insists, have been averse to its naked exhibition in recording the manner of the deaths of kings, but there had been even before his day, Chinese historians who had died rather than record a lie.

The idea that the power, malignant or benignant, of the spirits of the dead was subject to limitations, depending on the position when in life of the dead, as compared with that of the person now using his name, and as also as compared with that of the person in whose presence he stood, was probably the reason for some other exceptions to the avoidance of the names of the dead.

In the XIII Book of the *Li Ki* which deals with "The Rules of Propriety or Ceremonial Usage" it is *Li Ki*, Legge, S. R. C., Pl. IV, pp. 17-18. said: "When an officer was speaking before the ruler, if he had occasion to speak of a great officer who was dead, he called him by his posthumous epithet, or by the designation of his maturity; if of an officer (who was similarly), he called him by his name. When speaking with a great officer, he mentioned officers by their name, and (other) great officers by their designation."

"In speaking at a great officer's, he avoided using the name of the (former) ruler, but not that of any of his own dead."

In the "Summary of the Rules of Propriety" it is said: "Even in his presence, a Minister need not avoid the names improper to be spoken by the ruler's wife. The names to be avoided by a wife need not be unspoken outside the door of the harem. The names of parties for whom mourning is worn (only) nine months or five months need not be avoided.

*Li Ki, Legge,
S.B.C., Pt. III,
p. 93.*

That is to say the names need not be avoided by distant relatives of the deceased, but their names would be avoided by those more nearly related to them.



CHAPTER XII.

AVOIDANCE OF NAMES OF THE LIVING

SIR J. G. Frazer in the chapter on tabooed words in *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*, gives instances of peoples who keep their names secret; who will not mention them to a stranger, and of some who while not objecting to their names being known or told, will not themselves pronounce them.

Golden Bough, Pt. II, p. 322, *et seq*

In the "Summary of the Rules of Propriety" it is said: "The ruler of a state should not call by their names his highest ministers, nor the two noble ladies of her surname, who accompanied his wife of the harem. A great officer should not call in that way an officer who had been employed by his father, nor the niece and younger sister of his wife (members of his harem). (Another) officer should not call by name the Steward of his family, nor his principal concubine."

Li Ki, Legge, S.B.C., Pt. III, p. 190.

The position of the Steward in ancient China bears an analogy to that of Eliezer the Steward of Abraham. We find the Steward of the house honoured, when dead, by having the "soothing hand" of his master, even if a "great officer," laid upon his corpse. The same mark of affection and respect was paid by a great officer to a deceased niece, and to the dead sister of a wife who had accompanied her to the harem.

Gen. 15 v. 2, *Li Ki*, Legge, S.B.C., Pt. IV, p. 190.

It is also said: "The son of Heaven should not be spoken of as 'going out (of his state).'^{op.cit.} A feudal prince should not be called by his name ^{Pt. III,} while alive. (When either of these things ^{p. 113.} is done it is because the superior man will not show regard for wickedness). A prince who loses his territory is 'named,' and also one who extinguishes (another state ruled by) lords of the same surname as himself."

The last of a dynasty having by misdeeds lost the favour of Heaven, and a wicked ruler, are, by those deposing or removing them, stripped of their rank and territorial designations and then, and thereafter in history "named"—as are recalcitrant members of our House of Commons.

The idea underlying the refusal or reluctance of many peoples to pronounce their own names is ^{Golden} thought by Frazer to be that the name as ^{Bough, Pt. II,} a part of the person is the more so when ^{p. 237.} spoken with his own breath: and that while no harm may come from its being spoken by others, to speak one's own name is a loss of vitality. "Thus in some parts of Madagascar it is 'fady' or taboo for a person to tell his own name, but a slave or attendant will answer for him."

In the "Rules of Propriety or Ceremonial Usages" the XIth Book of the *Li Ki*, it is said: "When a great officer went on a mission about private ^{*Li Ki*, Legge,} affairs, a man of his private establishment ^{S.B.C., Pt. IV,} went with him as his spokesman, and ^{pp. 27-28.} called him by his name."

"When a great officer went on any mission, it was the rule that he should have such an officer from the ruler's establishment with him, to answer for him."

As in the avoidance of the names of the dead so in the avoidance of the names of the living there were exceptions.

It is said: "Before his father a son should be called by his name, and before his ruler a minister." The father had given the "name of childhood" to his son, and that name had been solemnly confirmed by his grandfather, if then living.

Op. cit.
Pl. III,
p. 79.

The ruler had the power to, and may have, invested the minister with lands and a name, and one can understand the idea that in the presence of the donor no harm could accrue to anyone by the use of the name which he had given.

Op. cit.
p. 176.

It was for the same reason that "To their parents, sons and daughters called themselves by their names." For the same reason we read that "The son and heir of a feudal prince (at his own court), called himself by his name; (at another court), his attendant described him as 'The rightful son of our unworthy ruler.'"

Op. cit.
p. 113.
Op. cit.
Pl. IV, p. 27.

The avoidance of names led to the use of descriptions varying with the rank of the person referred to, and with that of the person addressed, and the place in which the description was used. Thus, "A great officer of the highest grade (at his own court), called himself "Your inferior minister"; (at another court), his attendant who

Op. cit.
p. 27.

answered for him, described him as "The ancient of our poor ruler." A great officer of the lowest grade (at his own court), called himself by his name; (at another court), his attendant described him as "Our unworthy great officer!"

The "Son of Heaven" styled and called his great officers, and rulers who were dukes or marquises, if bearing the same surname as himself, as "paternal uncles," if of a different surname, "maternal uncles."

The use of such terms in formal address as "poor," "inferior," "unworthy," is part of that depreciation of oneself and one's own which is a mark of oriental courtesy, the more marked and extravagant, the lower the relative rank of the person speaking or described.

Even so, such forms of description did not conceal the high status of women in classical China.

"The partner of the Son of Heaven is called 'the queen'; of a feudal prince, 'the helpmate'; of a great officer, 'the attendant'; of an inferior officer
Op. cit. Pl. III, p. 113. 'the serving woman'; and of a common man 'the mate.'"

The wife of a feudal prince it is true, through politeness, called herself before the Son of Heaven "the aged servant," but before the prince of another State, she referred to herself as "the small and unworthy ruler."

CHAPTER XIII.

CHINESE FAMILY NOMENCLATURE AND ITS SUPPOSED RELATION TO PRIMITIVE GROUP-MARRIAGE

THE following pages taken from my essay, published in the *New China Review* in June, 1921, are technical; and the general reader is told that he is at liberty to leave them unread, though the writer hopes that, having so far persevered, such a reader will not be dismayed; for even in this chapter may be found matters of general interest.

The student of social origins is asked carefully to consider the facts here stated, even though they are not in accord with the views which he may have accepted as to the supposed relation of Chinese family nomenclature to a form of primitive group-marriage.

What Morgan says he found was that among many races the same word or words were used to indicate not only one relative of the speaker but several, that for instance, in the "Malayan System," the fifth of the stages through which he supposed the human family to have passed, "All the brothers of my father and of my mother are my fathers, and all the sisters of my father and of my mother are my mothers."

Morgan,
Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family.

See McLennan,
Studies in Ancient History and Primitive Marriage, 1876.
p. 338.

Morgan thought that this classing together of relatives who, under the "descriptive system" as in use in modern civilizations, have a separate and distinct appellation, arose from, and was a proof of a once allowed cohabitation between the persons included in the same class-name; and that the system of relationship indicated by the class name was, or had been, a system of blood-relationship.

McLennan in his *Studies in Ancient History and Primitive Marriage* dealt severely with Morgan's theory; and he pointed out, incidentally, that although promiscuity, and life in a communal family, might lead to uncertainty as to who a man's father was, and so lead to several persons being called "father," it could not explain how several persons could be a man's mother.

This criticism of Morgan's explanation of the social facts which he held his "classificatory system of relationship" to connote cannot, however, be applied to the many "mothers" of the system as explained by Sir J. G. Frazer; who in dealing in his *Totemism and Exogamy*, with the plural forms of the Melanesian words meaning mother, husband, wife and child says:

"Here as elsewhere the application of the classificatory system of relationship is only intelligible on the hypothesis that there was a time in the history of the race when a group of women were the common wives of a group of men, and when all the men were the 'fathers' and all the women were the 'mothers' of

Sir J. G. Frazer
*Totemism and
Exogamy*
Vol. II, p. 74

all the children born of the group marriage, these terms 'father' and 'mother' signifying merely that the persons so designated were members of intermarrying groups, not at all that they had begotten or borne, as the case might be, all the children whom they called their sons and daughters. Unless we can thus distinguish the classificatory sense of these terms from our own, it is vain to attempt to understand the primitive history of marriage."

Westermarck in *The History of Human Marriage* published in 1903, says of Morgan's views, in the same connection:—

"It is conceivable that uncertainty as regards fatherhood might have led a savage to call several men his fathers, but an analogous reason could never have induced him to name several women his mother."

Westermarck,
*The History
of Human
Marriage*,
p. 89.

In dealing with the stages through which he conjectured human family life had passed on its way toward monogamy, Morgan beginning with "Promiscuous Intercourse" as the first stage—"The Intermarriage or co-habitation of Brothers and Sisters" as the second,— "The Communal Family" as the third,— "The Hawaiian Custom" as the fourth,—the "Malayan Form" of the Classificatory System as the fifth,— and "The Tribal Organization" as the sixth, treats Chinese family relationships, as he knew of them, and those of the Hindus, and those of the North American Indians (his special study) as evidencing a form of family life seventh in an age-long ascent upwards from promiscuity and, as a stage in development

lower than his next stage, that of "Marriage between Single Pairs." Professor Morgan styled this seventh stage in his scheme "The Turanian and Ganowanian Systems of Relationship": the "Turanian" including a Chinese phase of human family life as he supposed it to have existed; and the "Ganowanian" being a phase of family life evidenced, as he held, by terms of relationship used by the Indian tribes of North America.

P. G. von Möllendorff in his *Family Law of the Chinese* revised and reprinted in 1896, comments on Starcke's discussion of, and views as to, the terms of Chinese relationship. Had the scheme of his work permitted a detailed examination of the "Chinese Classificatory System" as set out in McLennan's and Starcke's Tables, von Möllendorff would, without doubt, have pointed out once and for all their misunderstanding, inevitable indeed in view of the materials upon which those authorities worked, and the consequent unsoundness of the conclusions drawn by them, and subsequent writers, from the same materials, in so far, at any rate, as the Chinese family is concerned.

All that von Möllendorff says by way of criticism is:—"C. N. Starcke (*The Primitive Family*, P. G. von Möllendorff, *The Family Law of the Chinese*, pp. 201-3, 206, 298) discusses the different terms of Chinese relationship, but his authorities were not free from error."

Von Möllendorff's reason for leaving the matter thus may indeed have been that, of the three authorities on matters Chinese whom he mentions as

having written on Chinese relationship, namely G. Schlegel, A. J. May, and G. Jamieson, Mr. May of the Hongkong Civil Service had in 1881, in *The China Review*, Vol. XXI, published such a careful and full list and explanation of the terms used, in the Cantonese dialect, to designate Chinese family relationship that he, von Mölleadorff, considered it unnecessary further to deal with a supposed Chinese use of the "classificatory system of relationship" as accepted and built on by eminent ethnologists.

That some further explanation of the Chinese designations of the members of a family, with special reference to the "classificatory system" of Morgan, and the social facts which it has been taken as evidence of, is necessary is shown by the fact that Professor Letourneau in *The Evolution of Marriage*, relying on Morgan's *Systems of Consanguinity* as his authority, says:—

"In China the language itself attests the ancient existence of a marriage contracted by a group of brothers, having their wives in common, Cf. Letourneau, *The Evolution of Marriage*, pp. 323-324 (4th Ed. 1911). but not marrying their sisters. A Chinaman always calls the sons of his brother his 'sons,' whilst he considers those of his sisters nephews; but the virtual, or rather fictitious fathers, brothers, and sons are distinguished from the real fathers, brothers and sons by the epithet 'class' added to their appellation."

A Chinese father does not "always" call the sons of his brothers his "sons"; in fact he never does so unless he has adopted one of them as his own son on the

death, or failure, of natural male offspring of his own. In that case even, the adopted son is referred to, and refers to himself, by terms which indicate that he is an adopted son; and further the appropriate terms so used mark the difference between a person adopted from amongst the members of one's own family, and an outside person with a different surname from one's own.

In Chinese tables of kindred the character 子 *tzǔ* (the "tsze" of Morgan, and of Stareke) is, in combination with other characters, used to denote a male relative of a certain nearness to the "Ipsé" (己身 *chí shēn* or 本身 *pên-shēn*) of such tables. Thus my brother's son is in such tables of kindred designated by the character 姪 *chih* alone, or 姪子 *chih-tzǔ*. My sister's son is in such tables designated by the characters 外甥 *wai-shèng*, or 外甥子 *f-wai-shèng-tzǔ*. In the designation of both kinds of nephew, the brother's son and the sister's son, and in that of many other male relatives in Chinese tables of kindred where, in any case, such an indication of sex is necessary for clearness, the character 子 *tzǔ* is used as indicating "male."

The same character 子 *tzǔ* in the sense of "the boy" of the family is used by itself alone in some tables of kindred as a short indication of the son of the Ipsé of the tables.

It is to be noted that another compound Chinese character having the same sound *chih*, but formed by the character 儿 *jén* meaning "man" (written as 子 when used, as here, to the left of another character

with which it is combined) and the character 至 *chih* meaning "reach" is often used in Chinese tables of kindred, instead of 姪, to indicate the child of a brother, an agnatic nephew.

The character 兒 *êrh* male child, is sometimes used in China as a noun of common gender meaning "child": thus a parent addressing either a son or daughter might say *wo-ti-êrh* 我的兒, my child. This *wo-ti*, my, is the "wote" prefixed in Morgan's Table III (Starcke's Table X) to the names of relatives in China as there given.

The same character 兒 *êrh* is also used in some Chinese tables of kindred instead of, or as an alternative synonym of 子 *tzŭ*, in combination with varying other characters as denoting a male as distinguished from a female relative, whose relation in the family to oneself is indicated by the various other characters to which *tzŭ* or *êrh*, is affixed. This *êrh* is the "ir" of Morgan's and of Starcke's Tables.

It was a misunderstanding by Morgan of the Chinese use of *êrh* (*ir*) which led Starcke to say: "In the closest degree of kinship *ir* and *neu* define the family relationship; *ir-tze* or 'boy child' is a son, and *neu-ir* or 'maiden-child' is a daughter; it is therefore the term for kinship, while *tsze'* and *neu* only appear to indicate the sex." Starcke himself had not grasped the meaning of *êrh*, as he continues "Morgan is unable to decide how far the latter words, when the 'ir' is omitted, still signify 'son' and 'daughter' or if the unexpressed *ir* is to be understood."

Starcke,
*The Primitive
Family*,
p. 201.

Neither the character *tzū* nor the character *érh*, the use of which by themselves in tables of kindred indicates, as we have seen, the male descendant, "the boy" of the family, are in some such tables used to indicate one's own son.

Thus Father Pierre Hoang in his great work *Le Mariage Chinois au Point de Vue Légal*, in his Tables of Kindred as stated for reference as to the different degrees of mourning to be worn in China for one's relatives, uses the character 男 *nan* to indicate one's own son.

In May's Table of Chinese Relationships, already referred to, the characters for the "general" term for "son" are given as 男 子 *n'am tsai*, in Pekinese 男 子 *nan tzu* the "little son." The "colloquial" term for "son" is given by May as 仔 *tsai*, the little one.

The old form of the character 子 *tzū*, son, as given in K'ang Hsi's Dictionary compiled by direction of that Emperor, is 孛 or 𠂔, and the original form as 孛 or 𠂔. Mr. Hopkins tells me that the form 𠂔 is as old as any.

In the *Shuo Wên*, a dictionary of "radicals" published in A.D. 121 the earliest known form of *tzū* is given as 𠂔.

The "Honan Bones," a deposit of fragments of animal bones on which were made enquiries by augury, were discovered in 1889 in the province of Houan. Mr. L. C. Hopkins, L.S.O., late of H. M. Consular Service in China, in his essay "Working the Oracle" says that all authorities are now agreed that the incisions on these bones

were made in Shang dynasty times (1766-1151 B.C.). On the Honan Bones a son is pictured as 早 早 早 and 𠂔. Dr. L. Wieger, s.j., in *Caractères Chinois*, gives 𠂔 and 𠂔 as the earliest known forms, being representations of a new-born child in swaddling clothes, and in the second form the child's hair is indicated.

L. Wieger,
*Caractères
Chinois*,
Translated
by L. Dayreut,
Vol. I, p. 230.

In Chinese Tables of kindred the character 女 *nü* woman, female, is used by itself to indicate "the girl" of the family, one's own daughter. *Nü* is also used in the same way as 子 *tsü*, male, as a sex indicator, and as its opposite to indicate a female relative of that nearness to oneself indicated by other characters to which it is in certain cases attached as a suffix.

May gives 女 仔 *nü tsai* "the little girl" as the "general" term for daughter, and 女 *nü*, by itself, as the "colloquial" term.



An old form of the character 女 *nü* is 𡚦, and K'ang Hsi's Dictionary gives 𡚦 and 𡚦.


Wieger gives the pictograph 𡚦 as the earliest form of the character representing the reverent attitude, in ritual of Chinese women, the arms hanging down and crossed over the body. He gives 𡚦 the form in the *Shuo-wên*, as an early variant. Mr. Hopkins, however, tells one that this form of the character is not known.


Wieger says the "Lesser-Seal" character 𡚦 is a cursive modification of the older pictogram 𡚦, the right side of the picture having become deformed.


On a search, however, through the plates in Menzie's *Oracle Records from the Waste of Yin*


illustrating his collection of "Oracle Bones" of the time of the Shang dynasty, one finds markings which appear to be rude pictures of kneeling human figures in profile.

On the fragment No. 2311 is the form  in which the head is clearly indicated. On fragment No. 765 is the form .

On many other fragments a figure drawn thus  is found, of which that on fragment No. 1150 is a good example, which appears to be that of one kneeling with folded arms.

On fragment No. 105, and others the kneeling figure is an early form of  *mu*, a mother.

The pictogram on No. 2269 is .

On a fragment shown on the third plate in the Second Volume of Lo Chên Yü's *Yin Hsü Shu Chi*, "Records of the Tumulus of Yin," is the figure . Both, perhaps, depicting a mother and child.

In *The Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family* Morgan considered the relation of his "Malayan" form of the human family to his "Turanian and Ganowanian" form; and their points of agreement and difference, as there stated, were later discussed by McLennan.

It was accepted by both writers, though they differed in their explanation, that: "The children of my male cousins, myself a male, are in the 'Turanian' form my nephews and nieces; and the children of my female cousins are my sons and daughters." After a careful analysis of the materials then at his disposal

McLennan,
*Studies in
Ancient History*,
1876, p. 259,
et seq. p. 368 *et
seq.*

Starecke in *The Primitive Family* says: "These translations" (those supplied to Morgan of the compound characters used to designate certain relationships) "are only valuable so far as they show that the Chinese possess the third characteristic feature of the Turanian system—that is, that a man's brother's children ranks as his own, while his sister's children are nephews and nieces." Starecke,
Op. cit.
p. 202.

The proposition that the Chinese names for kindred do not distinguish between sons and fraternal nephews, or that there is anything in such names, or the manner in which fraternal nephews are called, or addressed, to warrant the statement that such nephews are classed as "sons" stands first for examination.

In Chinese tables of kindred the son of one's brother, one's agnatic nephew, is indicated by the character 姪 *chih*, or with the sex indicator *tzŭ* added 姪子 *chih tzŭ* to distinguish a fraternal nephew from 姪女 *chih nü* a fraternal niece.

K'ang Hsi's Dictionary gives as the meaning of 姪 *chih* the son or daughter of a brother. Giles' Dictionary gives as the meaning "The son or daughter of a brother, a nephew, a niece." 姪 "*chih*" is in fact a noun of common gender, an agnatic nephew or niece.

May gives 姪 *chih* as the "general" term for a brother's son and 姪子 *chih tzŭ* (*Chat Tsz* in Cantonese) as the colloquial term.

May's tables give not only the Chinese "general," and the "colloquial" terms for family relationship,

but also the "polite term" (used when making enquiries of a person), and the "self-depreciating term" (used when answering enquiries).

In all four classes of terms for brother's sons and daughters, the character 姪 *chih* is the indicating descriptive term.

As we have seen, in May's tables of terms for kindred the "general" term for one's own son is 男 仔 *nam tsai* "the little boy." The colloquial term is 仔 *tsai*, the little one, the "polite" terms are phrases such as 令 郎 *ling lang* "Your honourable young gentleman," and the "self-depreciating" terms for one's own son are such as 小 兒 *hsiao erh*, the little boy.

In no name for, or mode of calling, one's own son does the character 姪 *chih* occur and there is no trace of any confusion in nomenclature between one's own child and the children of one's brother.

Chih 姪 with the addition of other and varying characters indicates, and describes, different classes of those relatives whom the Chinese reckon as nephews and nieces on the father's or mother's side, and whom we call cousins "once," "twice," or "three times," "removed." For instance the agnatic grand-nephew of one's father, one's cousin once removed in our reckoning, is indicated in Chinese tables of kindred by the characters 堂 姪 *'ang chih*; and one's father's agnatic grand-niece by the same characters with the addition of 女 *nü*, female, as the sex indicator.

The character 堂 *t'ang* means a hall, a court, the "ancestral hall." It is with this last sense that it is found in combination with varying other characters to indicate relatives of the same surname but not of the same generation. (See Giles' Dictionary under T'ang [No. 10760]).

The agnatic great-grand-nephew of one's father is indicated by the characters 堂姪孫 *t'ang-chih-sun*. The character 孫 *sun* means grandson, and here added to *t'ang-chih* indicates an agnatic relative of the second generation in direct descent from any agnatic cousin, a grand-nephew belonging to my own ancestral-hall.

Taking the instance of the agnatic relative furthest removed from oneself to be found usually indicated in the list of one's immediate kindred in China, namely, the sixth agnate in direct descent from one's own great-great grandfather, that relative is indicated by the characters 族姪孫 *tsu-chih-sun* meaning one's "clan-nephew-grandson."

The Chinese character for father is 父 *fu*. The characters for grandfather, one's ancestral-father are 祖父 *tsu-fu*; those for great-grandfather are 曾祖父 *tseng-tsu-fu*, one's "past" ancestor; and those for one's great-great-grandfather 高祖父 *kao-tsu-fu*, one's "exalted" ancestor.

Wieger in his *Caractères Chinois* gives 𠂔, 𠂕 as the oldest forms of 父 *fu*, and says "Fu, Father, 'considered as the Chief and Instructor of his family. Composed of 𠂔 hand, and 𠂕 a stick.'" L. Wieger, *Op. cit.* (English translation) Vol. I, p. 117.

The *Shuo Wên* says: 父 *fu*, has the meaning of "ruler" the head of a family who guides (teaches) the entire family in accordance with rules.

In K'ang Hsi's Dictionary the same derivation is given.

In China all relatives of the next younger generation than one's own counting, generally as a starting point, from one's own agnatic great-grandfather, or the agnatic grandfather of one's own mother, are considered as nephews or grand-nephews of varying degrees of relationship. In the Chinese characters designating such relatives the character 姪 *chih*, nephew, in combination with other characters, appears, with this important exception, that if their relation to myself, the Ipse of the table of kindred, is through their mother having been born a female agnate of mine then the character 甥 *shêng* is used, and not 姪 *chih*, as the character indicating "nephew."

Thus one's father's brother's daughter's son (in our reckoning a cousin once removed) is in a Chinese table of kindred indicated by the characters 堂外甥 *t'ang-wai-shêng*. These characters thus denote a nephew the son of a female agnate 甥 *shêng*, the mother being born a member of one ancestral hall 堂 *t'ang*, but married out of it 外 *wai*. Thus in the same way one's agnatic great-grandfather's great-granddaughter's son, being of the same generation as one's own son, and by Chinese reckoning a nephew, is indicated by the characters 再從外甥 *tsai-tsung-wai-shêng*, a still-further removed "outside" (non-agnatic) nephew.

If an Englishman were asked to say what was the relation to himself of a kinsman corresponding to the one just referred to and described as we have seen in Chinese as *tsai-tsung-wai-shêng* 再從外甥, he would in all probability be unable to say. A Scot or an Irishman with their stronger clan feeling, would, after thought, describe him as a "second cousin once removed." But even a Highlander, short of a long story, would have no means of distinguishing that second-cousin-once-removed from any other second-cousin-once-removed, nor by his answer indicate that cousin's sex.

So accurately descriptive is Chinese nomenclature that not only has each kind of "second-cousin-once-removed" a distinctive designation; but further, if social or legal reasons called for it, the order in age in their own immediate family of such cousins could and would be indicated by the addition of appropriate numerical characters.

One now comes to the second part of the proposition of Morgan, McLennan, and Starecke, accepted and repeated, as we have seen, by Letourneau, namely, that in China a man's sister's children are "nephews" and "nieces," his brother's children not being so considered.

We have seen that in China a man's brother's children are not designated or described as his own children but as his nephews and nieces "*chih*" (*chih tzū*), and *chih nū*.

In Chinese the character 姪 *chih* denotes the child of a brother; and the character 甥 *shêng*, denotes the

child of a sister. *Chih* denotes primarily therefore an agnatic nephew or niece. *Shêng* primarily denotes a cognatic nephew, a nephew of another surname, belonging to a different family and clan.

The fact is that as regards terms for nephews and nieces the Chinese language is more "descriptive" than the English language with which Morgan, Starcke and other writers on the "Classificatory system of relationship" contrasted it.

The character 姪 *chih* is a compound of two characters 女 *nü* woman, and 至 *chih* "to reach" as the phonetic.

The old form of *Chih* as given by K'ang Hsi's Dictionary is 𡚦 pictograms of a woman and of an alighting bird (with the meaning of "reach").

Mr. Hopkins, a leading authority in such matters, has kindly drawn the writer's attention to the fact that *chih* is pictured on the "Honan Bones" as 𡚦; and also with the sex indicator *tzū* added, as 𡚦𡚹; the lower pictogram being that for *tzū* a male 𡚹.

The character 甥 *shêng*, is a compound of two characters 生 *shêng*, to bear, and 男 *nan*, a male: Nan being itself composed of 田 *t'ien*, the pictogram for a field, and 力 *li*, physical effort.

K'ang Hsi's Dictionary says:

"姪 *chih* the son or daughter of a brother."

"甥 *shêng*, a sister's son."

In some Chinese tables of kindred another *Chih*, the character for which is 倅 meaning "obstinate," is used instead of 姪: K'ang Hsi's Dictionary notes

this common misuse of a character having the same sound.

As to 甥 *shèng*, K'ang Hsi's Dictionary adds that in ancient times it was also used to designate the husband of a daughter.

Both a sister's son and the husband of one's daughter, though near relations, are outside the agnatic family clan of China as it now exists, and, so far as can be ascertained, existed from the earliest times.

In the *She King*, The Odes, *shèng* occurs with the meaning of a sister's child, once as indicating such a niece, and once such a nephew.

She King,
Legge, *Chinese Classics*,
pt. III, bk. III,
Ode VII, v. 1,
pt. I, bk. VIII,
Ode 2, XI, v. 2.

The *Erh Ya*, the oldest Chinese lexicon, is quoted, though not with concurrence, by the *Shuo Wen* as saying:

"My Aunt's son is a 'Shèng'; my maternal Uncle's son is a 'shèng'; my wife's brother is a 'shèng'; my sister's husband, my brother-in-law, is a 'Shèng.'"

Shèng is used with the meaning of "son-in-law" in the works of Mencius, where it is said: "Shun went to Court" and saw the sovereign who lodged him as his son-in-law in "the second palace."

Legge, *Chinese Classics*,
2nd Edit.,
Vol. II, p. 378.

Shun 舜 to whom, as a just man and future ruler, the great Yao 堯 gave his two daughters in marriage, "to try him," is the most famous and discussed son-in-law in Chinese history.

In Chinese tables of kindred one's nephew, the son of one's own married sister is indicated by the char-

acters 外甥 *wai-shèng* or with the addition of 子 *tzũ*, or 兒 *êrh* as indicating a male; one's niece the daughter of one's sister being indicated by the same character with the addition of the sex indicator 女, female.

In a note to the Table of Consanguinity given in Jamieson's translation of, and notes on, the "Marriage Laws" of China (*China Review*, Vol. X) that authority says:

"All descendants of sisters 姊妹" (姊 *tzǎ* [tsz] being one's elder sister, and 妹 *mei* one's younger sister) "are characterized as 外甥" *wai shèng*.

The prefix 外 *wai*, outside, external, is here used with the meaning of external to, outside of, one's own agnatic family. As Giles' Dictionary says, 外 *wai* is specially applied to relatives through the female branches.

This *Wai-shèng* is the "Wae-sung" of Morgan, and of Stareke. It is interesting to note that although Hart in this matter, as doubtless in others connected with Chinese nomenclature, did his best to explain what the Chinese designations connoted, the learned writers who built on the materials supplied by him insisted on their own point of view. Thus Stareke says:

"Morgan goes on to say that the man calls his sister's son *wae-sung*, which Hart translates 'as outside nephew.' *Wae* signifies outside, and *Sung*, originally signifying 'the daughter's child,' acquires the meaning of 'sister's son' when preceded by *Wae*. 'Outside child' would,

Stareke.
*The Primitive
Family*
p. 202.

perhaps, be a more correct translation. The sister's daughter is called *wae-sung-nen* translated by Hart as daughter of the Wae-sung class. As we have said above, this might be translated as 'outside female child' or niece."

The "general" term and also the "colloquial" term as given by May for a nephew the son of a sister is *wai shèng*, the "polite" term being 令甥 *lìng shèng*, honourable nephew (the son of one's sister), and the "self-deprecating" term being 舍甥 *shě-shèng*, my humble nephew (son of my sister).

Hart had rightly informed Morgan that *Wae* meant "outside"; and, as we have seen, the character as used in describing kindred connotes that the relative of whose designation the character "*wae*" is part is outside one's own agnatic family. Starcke,
*The Primitive
Family*,
pp. 203-204. Starcke, however, wrongly insisted that "*Wae*" meant "outside" the generation of the speaker.

The different characters with the primary connotation of "external" which are used in the Chinese designations of kindred, and which it may be convenient to deal with here are as follows:

外 *wai*, the "*Wae*" of Starcke's, and of Morgan's tables, already commented on, and which Giles says is "specially applied to relatives through the female branches"—that is, of one's own agnatic family. Giles'
Dictionary
(No. 12, 442).

姨 *i* (the "*e*" of Morgan's, and of Starcke's tables) as a noun has the primary meaning of a wife's sister, and also of a mother's sister; and as a prefix in designations of kindred means descended through the

mother's sister. The use of 姨 *i*, as a noun, with the meaning of a mother's sister, or of a wife's sister, and the inferences which may be drawn therefrom, will be referred to later.

Starcke's conclusion was that "c" "stranger woman," used as a "particle" indicated remote kinship to the "speaker" of his, and Morgan's Tables.

表 *piao*, the "peacon" of Morgan's and of Starcke's tables, which has the primary meaning of "outside" is, Giles says: "a term of relationship applied to all descendants of female relatives on the father's side: and on the mother's side, to all descendants from a mother's brother or her male first cousins of the same surname."

The character 甥 *shèng* being itself, as has been said, a "descriptive" term for a nephew the son of a married sister, a non-agnatic nephew, it is not surprising to find that the adjective 外 *wai*, non-agnatic, is, as May says, sometimes omitted in the phrases denoting such nephews. The son of a sister's son is in tables of kindred indicated by the characters 外甥 孫 *wai-shèng-sun*.

The character 孫 *sun*, has the meaning of grandson, an agnatic grandson. An agnatic grand-daughter is indicated by 孫女 *sun-nü*. A grandson the son of a daughter is 女孫 *nü-sun* or 外孫 *wai-sun*.

In describing the son of a sister's son as 外甥孫 *wai-shèng-sun* the Chinese do not thereby indicate that one's sister's grandson is a grandson of one's own, nor does the phrase connote that he might ever

possibly have been one's own grandson. The term does connote that one's sister's grandson belongs to the same generation as one's own grandson, counting down from a common ancestor, in this case one's own father.

Whether a relative, agnatic or non-agnatic, is "classed" as Morgan would say, as a nephew or grandson, or, as the fact is, described by one of characters forming the phrase denoting his exact position therein as a relative of the same generation as one's own nephews or one's own grandsons (and whose exact relation to oneself is given by the other characters in the compound phrase used to indicate that relative), depends in China on that relative's place in the family, his generation of descent. In stating such descent one's father and one's mother are counted as being of the same generation, and so on as regards remoter relatives counting downwards from agnatic ancestors of one's father, or of one's mother.

One's own paternal grandfather and one's own maternal grandfather, for instance, are taken as being of the same generation and so on in, and across, the ascending lines.

If Stareke's deduction from Morgan's *Tables of Kindred*, and on which he worked, "that the Chinese possess the third characteristic feature of the Turanian system—that is, that a man's brother's children rank as his own, while his sister's children are nephews and nieces" were correct, which so far we found it is not, then in

Stareke,
*The Primitive
Family*,
p. 202.

China a nephew the son of a brother would designate his father's brother in the same manner as his own father; and on the other hand a nephew the son of a sister would designate his mother's brother as an "Uncle."

The Chinese character for father is, as we have seen 父 *fu*. May gives the "general" term for father as 父親 *fu-ts'an*, in P'ekinese *fu-ch'in*, one's dear father. It is interesting to note that one of the "colloquial" terms for father given by May is 亞巴 *a-pa*, the same baby sound *pa*, father, which is found in so many languages.

A Chinese designates his paternal uncle, his father's elder brother as 伯父 *po-fu*, and his father's younger brother as 叔父 *shu-fu*.

The character 伯 *po*, by itself has the primary meaning of a father's elder brother. The character 叔 *shu* by itself has the meaning of a father's younger brother.

The "colloquial" forms of description as given by May are for elder paternal uncle 亞伯 *a-po*, and for younger paternal uncle 亞叔 *a-shu*.

The character 父 *fu*, father, added to the two given descriptive characters for elder and younger paternal uncle respectively indicate the deference due, in China, to a father's brothers, and is not a relic of a communal marriage.

One's mother's brother, one's maternal uncle, is indicated by the character 舅 *chiu*. The "colloquial" term for a mother's brother as given by May is 舅父 *chiu-fu*. Here as in the case of the *fu* added to the

terms *po* and *shu*, just dealt with, the term *fu*, father, is added to the designation of the maternal, as well as to that of the paternal, uncles as an indication of the respect due to one's near relations of the same generation as one's own father.

Again, if the deduction of Stareke above referred to were correct, a man in China would designate the sons of his father's brothers as "brothers," while calling or designating the children of father's sisters by some term or terms having the distinctive meaning of "cousins."

There is no single Chinese character meaning "cousin." In China all cousins "first," "second" or "third," that is cousins of the same generation as one's self, agnatic or cognatic, are designated by descriptive phrases clearly marking their place in the family as descended from a common ancestor with oneself on the father's or on the mother's side of the family, and as being of the same generation in such descent as one's self.

In all such designations the Chinese characters for elder, or younger, brother, and for elder, or younger, sister form part.

The Chinese character denoting an elder brother is 兄 *hsiung*, that denoting a younger brother is 弟 *ti*. The character denoting an elder sister is 姊 *tzŭ* (*tsz*), not to be confused with 子 *tzŭ* male (used, as we have seen, to indicate one's own son in tables of kindred). The character denoting a younger sister is 妹 *mei*.

One's first cousins, the sons of one's father's brother are thus designated as 堂兄 *t'ang-hsiung* for the

elder, and 堂弟 *t'ang-ti* for the younger, their sisters being designated as 堂姊 *t'ang-tzũ* for the elder; and 堂妹 *t'ang-mei* for the younger.

This *t'ang* we have met before as connoting belonging to one's ancestral hall, agnatic.

One's first-cousins the children of one's father's sister are designated in like manner, but with the character *piao* 表, "external" as the prefix; thus 表兄 *piao-hsiung* and 表弟 *piao-ti* for such male cousins and 表姊 *piao-tzũ* and 表妹 *piao-mei* for such female cousins.

One's first cousins the children of one's mother's sister are designated in like manner but with the character 姨 *i*, as the distinguishing prefix. Thus 姨兄 *i-hsiung*, and 姨弟 *i-ti*, for such male cousins and 姨姊 *i-tzũ* and 姨妹 *i-mei*, for such female cousins.

This compound character 姨 *i*, primarily has the meanings of a wife's sister, a mother's sister. A mother's sister, however, in Chinese tables of kindred is designated as 姨媽 *i-ma*.

In the Chinese language we thus have not one character, or expression for "nephew" as we have in English, but two characters: One *chih* denoting nephews, and with a sex indicator nieces, of one's own surname, and another *shêng* denoting nephews, and with a sex indicator nieces, whose surname is different from one's own.

As we have seen, there is not now, nor so far as is ascertainable, has there been in the past any confusion in the Chinese mind between one's own children

and those of one's brother; nor yet between any of these and the children of one's sister.

In China the sons of a brother are for a certain definite and limited purpose ranked with one's own sons, while other nephews, the sons of a sister, are not.

The son of a brother and one's own son are so ranked together in determining what mourning shall be worn for them by certain relatives, and in determining what mourning they should wear for those relatives, if dying before them. This ranking is in relation to their mutual agnatic connection through a common ancestor.

Death and the respect evidenced by wearing mourning being to the Chinese mind the most important facts in life, it is most natural and indeed inevitable that in China one should in life envisage one's relatives not only paternal, but maternal also, as persons for whom such and such mourning will be worn on their death, and classify them accordingly.

The son of a full brother and one's own son are when dead honoured by the same degree and description of mourning being worn for them.

A Chinaman and all his brothers wear, or should wear, the same mourning for all the agnatic grandsons of their father, namely, the Second Degree of Mourning 齊衰 *tzū t'sui*, clothes of coarse hempen fabric with hemmed borders worn for one year. The same degree, and kind, of mourning is worn for one year by a man for the following relatives:—

His grandparents; his paternal uncles, and their wives, his unmarried paternal aunt; his brothers; his unmarried sisters; his wife; sons of wives (or concubines); the wife of his first-born son; his agnatic nephews; his unmarried agnatic nieces, his grandson; the first-born son of his first-born son; and his own daughter.

The agnatic basis of the Chinese family is evidenced by the fact that a man's unmarried paternal aunts, his unmarried sisters, and his unmarried agnatic nieces, having died while still full members of his own agnatic family, are honoured, as his own son is, as full relatives of the Second Degree, that is, relatives for whom the Second Degree of Mourning is to be worn for one year.

In view of the importance attached by writers on social origins to the position, privileges, and duties of the mother's brother in some races and the deductions as to primitive marriage customs drawn therefrom, it is to be noted that in China for the brother of one's own mother the "fourth degree" only of mourning is worn, that for five months, and that the same mourning is worn for a mother's sister.

The question as to whether, or not, in China the son of a brother is classed with one's own son was not first propounded by Morgan or considered by Starcke.

We have seen that the discoverer, and the propounders, of the "classificatory system of relationships" drew mistaken conclusions, on the incomplete facts before them, as to the meaning and import of

Tables of
Mourning in
Ta Ch'ing Li Li
and as given by
Medhurst &
Pierre Hoang.

Sir J. G. Frazer
*Totemism and
Exogamy*
Vol. IV, p. 289.
*Folk Lore in
the Old
Testament*
Vol. III, p. 203.

the nomenclature of the Chinese branch of their "Turanian and Ganowanian Family." It is true, however, that in China as regards the mourning to be worn for them the sons of brothers do rank with one's own sons.

In the Second Book of the *Lî Ki*, the *T'an Kung*, a book concerned with questions as to burial and mourning, it is said:

"The mourning worn for the son of a brother should be the same as for one's own son: the object being to bring him still nearer to one's own self. An elder brother's wife and his younger brother do not wear mourning for each other; the object being to maintain the distance between them. Slight mourning is worn for an aunt, and an elder or younger sister (when they have been married); the reason being that there are those who received them from us, and will render to them the full measure of observance."

In this answer as given we have a philosophic reasoning on ancient facts: a reference to that "Fraternal Principle" 悌 *ti*, which was and is only second to the "Patriarchal Principle" 孝 *hsiao*, as an element of Chinese faith and life.

See E. H. Parker,
*Comparative
Chinese Family
Law*, p. 2.

That love, duty, mutual respect and forbearance between brothers which together with "filial piety," respect towards one's parents and elders, was the foundation on which the joint-family life of the Chinese was based, and without which it could not have existed.

There is also in this text from the *Lî Kî* a reference to the distance to be maintained between the sexes, the observance of which also helped to make the joint family life of all the members of three or more generations living in one dwelling place, and clustered round one principal hearth, decently possible.

A very full exposition of Chinese law and custom as to mourning is given in his "Annotations aux Tableaux du Deuil d'après les Lois Chinois" by Pierre Hoang in *Le Mariage Chinois*.

A most clear statement, and explanation of the "Degrees of Mourning" is given by Sir Walter (then Mr.) Medhurst in his *Marriage, Affinity and Inheritance in China*, quoted by Legge in the Appendix to Book II of his translation of the *Lî Kî*.

Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XXXII, p. 202.

Von Möllendorff, *Op. cit.* p. 6.

The "Four Grades of Relationship" are also discussed by von Möllendorff.

The preliminary chapter of the *Ta Ching Lî Li*, a revision of the fundamental criminal and civil law and custom of China as re-enacted under the Ching (Ts'ing) Manchu Dynasty, deals with the "Dress of Mourning." This chapter is referred to, and extracts given from it, by Sir George Staunton in his translation of the Code published in 1810.

This part of the code was, however, dealt with and used by Medhurst, as Legge notes, in the essay on *Marriage, Affinity, and Inheritance in China*, above referred to.

Staunton, *Ta Tsing Lî Li* Vol. LXXV, p. 487.

Death, mourning, and the proper observance of funeral etiquette having in the Chinese mind that importance already referred to, and the *Ta Ch'ing Lü Li* not being in the hands of the people, "the stupid people," of China, the Degrees of Mourning and the particular relatives for whom they have to be worn are to be found in those books of handy reference which in China correspond to our ready-letter-writers and books on etiquette.

It was from one of these, called *Important Rules for the Officials and People*, that Von Möllendorff, as he says, based his statement of the Four Grades of Relationship and the mourning to be worn for them. The Chinese Code divides the same varying degrees of mourning into five classes, and that is the arrangement followed by Medhurst, and by Pierre Hoang.

Medhurst shortly and clearly shows how in China the classing of relatives is interwoven with the grading of mourning where he says: —

"The Ritual prescribes five different kinds of mourning, called *wu fu* (五服), to be worn for all relatives within a definite proximity of degree, graduating the character of the habit in proportion to the nearness of kin. These habits are designated by certain names, which by a species of metonymy come to be applied to the relationships themselves and are used somewhat as we apply the terms '1st degree,' '2nd degree' and so on; and plans, similar to our genealogical tables, are laid down, showing the specific habit suitable for each kinsman."

We have dealt with the relationship in China of uncles and nephews as evidenced by the way in which men designate the sons of their brothers, and of their sisters, respectively.

If those writers, from Morgan to Letourneau, who claim the Chinese system of nomenclature as a proof of their thesis of past communal marriage were right, then one would expect to find in the Chinese designations of uncles, on the father's and on the mother's side, by nephews some trace of the supposed fact that

Letourneau. "A Chinaman always calls the sons of
Op. cit. his brother his 'sons' whilst he considers
 p. 323. those of his sister as his nephews."

A father's elder brother is in China designated by the character 伯 *po*, a father's younger brother by the character 叔 *shu*. The Chinese character meaning a mother's brother is 舅 *chiu*.

We thus find in China distinct "descriptive" designations, one for the elder and one for the younger of one's paternal uncles, and one for maternal uncles. That there should be designations differentiating between elder and younger paternal uncles, to whom special obedience, deference, and courtesy is due, is in keeping with the agnatic basis of the Chinese patriarchal family.

While these three characters *po*, *shu*, and *chiu* have by themselves the several meanings above given, one finds that in Chinese Tables of Kindred the character 父 *fu*, father, is added to *chiu*, the mother's brother, as well as to *po*, the father's elder brother, and to *shu* a father's younger brother: and in each case as

a courtesy title given to near relatives of the same generation as one's father and mother.

The same characters with the courtesy sex indicator 母, *mu*, mother, are used to designate one's aunts-in-law the wives of these same uncles, brothers of one's father, and of one's mother.

There is no indication in the Chinese designations whether "general," "colloquial," "polite," or "self-depreciating," for uncles of any kind, as given by May, of their having been at any time, however remote, "group-fathers," nor of maternal uncles being "uncles" while paternal uncles were possible "fathers."

Letourneau concludes the passage already quoted from as follows:

"We have previously seen that in China proper, not only the paternal family, but the patriarchy, are rigorously established: that woman is in extreme subjection, and always disinherited; but certain impediments to marriage can only relate to an ancient family organization which has now disappeared."

Thus Letourneau, on the authority of Morgan, gave the weight of his authority to the proposition that Chinese nomenclature is proof that the Chinese family is a development of group-marriage.

The Chinese legal and customary Impediments to Marriage, "Absolute," "On Account of Relationship," "On Account of Affinity," and for other special reasons, dealt with in the *Ta Ching Lü Li*, have been set out

Letourneau.
Op. cit.
p. 324.

Von Möllendorff.
Op. cit. p. 12
et seq.
Parker, *Op. cit.*
p. 11 *et seq.*
Jamieson,
Op. cit.
p. 82 *et seq.*

by Von Möllendorff, and discussed and explained by Parker, and by Jamieson.

As regards the thread-bare heresy as to the mean position of women in China, it would be beyond the scope of this essay to deal at any length with the opposed views of Legge, and of the Marquis D'Hervey-Saint-Denys, as to the position of woman in classical China.

The Ode, *Ts'ae pin*, of the time of King Wan, describing the diligence and reverence of the wife of an officer taking her part in the service of his ancestral temple, says:

She King.
Legge's Metrical
Translation,
1876, pp. 69, 253,
358, 368.

"The plants, when closed her toil, she puts
In baskets round and baskets square.
Then home she hies to cook her spoil,
In pans and tripods ready there.
In sacred chamber this she sets,
Where the light falls down through the wall.
'Tis she, our lord's young reverent wife,
Who manages this service all."

In the Ode *Ts'oo Ts'ze*, describing the sacrifice in the Ancestral temple, it is said:

"Before the fires some reverent stand;
Some take the mighty trays in hand;
These with the roasted flesh they fill,
Those with the livers broiled. Then still
And reverent, the queen presides,
And every smaller dish provides,
The pious feast to grace."

In the Ode *Ts'ae Shoo*, describing a village festival, it is said:

"Hark! how the merry feast goes round!
The husbands' hearts with love abound;
Their wives close by their sides are found."

In the Ode *Fung neen*, a song of thanksgiving for a plenteous harvest, it is said:

"From this distilled, shall spirits, strong and sweet,
Our sires and mothers with their fragrance greet,
When to their shrines each season we repair;
And in all other rites their part shall bear."

In the *Chiao T'eh Sêng*, the IXth Book of the *Li Ki*, it is said:

"The bridegroom himself stands by (the carriage of the bride), and hands to her the strap (to assist her in mounting), showing his affection. Having that affection, he seeks to bring her near to him. It was by such reverence and affection for their wives that the ancient kings obtained the kingdom."

And again in the same Book of the *Li Ki* in describing a ceremonial marriage, it is said:

"The dark coloured cap, and the (preceding) fasting and vigil (with which the bridegroom meets the bride, makes the ceremony like the service of) spiritual beings, and (the meeting of) the bright and developing and receding influences (in nature). The result of it is to give the lord for the altars to the spirits of the land and grain, and the successors of the forefathers of the past;—is not the utmost reverence appropriate in it? Husband and wife ate of the same victim,—thus declaring that they were of the same rank. Hence while the wife had (herself) no rank,

*Sacred Books
of the East.*
Vol. XXVII,
pp. 440-441.

she was held to be of the rank of her husband, and she took her seat according to the position belonging to him."

Here we have "confarreatio," the most solemn form of marriage, and in itself incompatible with female subjection.

In the *Ai Kung Wàn* the XXIV Book of the *Li Ki* it is said:

"Confucius continued, 'Anciently, under the government of the intelligent kings of the three
Op. cit. dynasties, it was required of a man
Vol. XXVIII, to show respect to his wife and son.
p. 266.

When the path (of right government) was pursued, the wife was the hostess of the (deceased) parents: could any husband dare not to show her respect? And the son was the descendant of those parents,—could any father dare not to show him respect?"

The *I-Li*, Book of Etiquette and Ceremonial, in
I-Li. detailing the presents to be taken on a
Translated by John Steele, LL.D., "Mission" from one Prince to another,
1917.
pp. 192, 195. says:

"They receive the presents for the Prince of the State to be visited—silk, with a round symbol laid on it; and the half jade symbol for presentation to the Princess."

On entering the State to which the Mission was accredited the presents for the Prince were "displayed," and "The Mission's presents for the Prince's lady."

On arrival at the capital of the State to be visited the Mission is met, and greeted, by an "under great-officer" sent by the Prince. "The prince's lady sends an under great-officer to recompense their toil."

Writers on social origins have attached much weight to differences between the manner in which men, and women, husbands and wives, address, or designate, the same relative.

In Chinese nomenclature the key to such differences is to be found in the fact that the family relation of any person in China, male or female, depends as to designation upon their agnatic connection with oneself, tempered as to forms of address in certain near family relationships by over-riding courtesy.

Thus a wife through her close connection with her husband's agnatic family, calls, when addressing them, her husband's nephews, agnatic and cognatic, in the same manner as her husband does. She addresses her husband's agnatic nephew as *chih-êrh*, not *wai-chih-êrh*.

On the other hand, in view of her agnatic connection with her family of birth, a woman designates her own brother's son as *nei-chih*.

The character 內 *nei* has here the meaning inside the agnatic family as in contra-distinction to 外 *wai*, outside, which is used in Chinese nomenclature with the special meaning of outside the agnatic family.

K'ang Hsi's Dictionary, however, says that "a woman calls her own (not her husband's) brothers' sons as *chih*."

May, after giving the various Chinese designations for father-in-law, notes "when the husband addresses his father-in-law he uses the same term his wife does, *i.e.*, father": a matter of courtesy.

The initial error of the writers, whose conclusions Letourneau relied on, and which are shortly summed up by him in the passage quoted from above, was, as

Letourneau.	we have seen, in taking the sex indicators
<i>Op. cit.</i>	for male and female appended to varying
pp. 323-4.	"descriptive" appellations of kindred as
	the name of a class,—that of "sons" and "daughters."

Another error was in taking *chih*, agnatic nephew, to be the only Chinese character meaning "nephew"; in thinking that there was only one character for nephew in Chinese, namely *Chih*; and not as the fact is two: *chih* the son of a brother, and *shêng* the son of a sister. The most serious darkening of counsel in regard to Chinese nomenclature has arisen from want, or rejection, of explanation that, in China, one's relation to anyone connected with oneself depends upon the number of one's own and that relative's generations of descent from a common ancestor, on one's father's or on one's mother's side.

If one refers to the "Table of Consanguinity" attached to the late Mr. Jamieson's translation of and comments on "Chinese Marriage Laws" (*The China Review*, Vol. X, p. 160), or to the "Tables of Mourning" in *Le Mariage Chinois*, or to the "Table of Immediate Kindred" attached to this essay, one sees that relatives of the same generation as one's father, or of one's mother, counting from one's father's great-grand-

father in the one case, and from one's mother's grandfather in the other, have the courtesy title of "father" or "mother" *fu* or *mu*, as the final characters in their descriptive designations with two exceptions,—that of the father's sister, and that of the mother's sister: exceptions which will be dealt with later. Thus, on the father's side, one's father's great-grandfather's elder agnatic grandson being of the same generation of descent from one's own great-grandfather, is designated by the characters 族伯父 *tsu-po-fu*, which literally translated are "clan"-elder-brother-father, one's "clan" elder uncle on the father's side (being of the same generation as one's own father). This relative's wife is designated by the characters 族伯母 *tsu-po-mu*.

The younger great-grandson of one's own great-great-grandfather is 族叔父 *tsu-shu-fu*; and his wife 族叔母 *tsu-shu-mu*.

Thus in the same way one's own mother's paternal grandfather's grandson, being of the same generation as one's own parents, is designated in Jamieson's Table as 堂舅父 *t'ang-chiu-fu*; and his wife as 堂舅母 *t'ang-chiu-mu*.

The same relative in Pierre Hoang's Tables is given as 堂母舅 *t'ang-mu-chiu* "Hall"-maternal-uncle.

The character 舅 *chiu* by itself means a maternal uncle.

The combined characters *t'ang-chiu-fu* connote an agnatic first-cousin of one's mother, and, as of her generation, of the same generation as one's uncles. Here as in all Chinese designations of kindred we

have not a statement that the relative described is one of a "class" of relatives in the sense of Morgan, but a "descriptive" phrase, describing and giving the exact relation of that relative, and none other, to oneself.

The female relatives in China of the same generation as one's own father and mother in whose designations the character for *mu*, mother, is not an integral part are the sister of one's father, and those of one's mother. The character 姑 *ku*, formed by the characters for "woman" and "ancient" combined, has the meaning of a paternal aunt, and also that of a husband's sister. The character 姨 *i* formed by the character 女 *nü*, "woman," and 夷 *i*, "barbarian," has the meaning of a sister of one's wife, and also that of one's mother's sister.

The sisters of one's father are members of his agnatic family by birth, not marriage: and the sisters of one's mother are members of her agnatic family, and connections of one's own, by that fact, and not by marriage.

One wears in China for one's father's sisters dying spinsters the same degree of mourning as one does for one's father's brothers, namely, that for one year: the same aunts if married and then dying are still mourned for but only for nine months. The sisters of one's mother when dead, and whether married or not, are honoured by the fourth degree of mourning, that worn for five months.

The primitive original form of the character 夷 *a* "barbarian," as given in the *Shuo Wên*, in K'ang Hsi's

Dictionary, and by Wieger is 𠂔, a pictogram of a man 人 holding a bow 弓.

Hopkins in his Essay "Chinese and Sumerian" (*Proceedings, Society of Biblical Archaeology*, Vols. 26 and 27), after predicated that "speech is a by-product of man's physical evolution. Writing is an achievement of his conscious effort" says: "You cannot, for instance, learn the true or full meaning of a Chinese or Sumerian word by inspecting the construction of the character assigned to it."

This may be so in cases where existing pictograms have been used phonetically to express or indicate a later idea: but it may be said that such ruling, applicable as it may be to the representation of ideas, need not apply to the combined pictograms used in Chinese script to indicate the sister of the woman the father of the family took to wife, and also the sister of the woman I myself when I marry take to wife.

The age when the human cave-dweller first made pictures is now admitted to have been early in man's social infancy. The age when the race, of which the invading colonists of China, the founders of the Chinese race, were an offshoot, first put together the picture of a "woman" and that of "a man holding a bow" (or as Hopkins in his *Pictographic Reconnaissance* says "an arrow" and a "bow string") to convey the idea of a man's wife's sister may have been ages later: but it cannot, presumably, have been in an age when, if ever, man took a wife or wives from his own hearth. The use of this combination of the pictograms for "woman" and for "barbarian" to indicate

the sister of a father's wife, and also the sister of one's own wife, must surely have begun in an age when a man took a wife to himself, and took or got that wife from a tribe other than his own.

This primitive "descriptive" designation of one's maternal aunt, one's mother's sister, and of one's own wife's sister, would appear to be evidence not of communal marriage, but of a patriarchal family practising exogamy as the earliest traceable Chinese social unit. As the "descriptive" designation of a paternal aunt it connoted, it is submitted, not merely a stranger to the agnatic family, but a stranger also, as the father's wife herself was before marriage, to the tribe.

Giles' Dictionary gives as the meaning of 夷, *i*, "To squat on the heels. Ordinary. To feel at ease; to be peaceful, pleased, just, level; to kill; to exterminate; to get rid of barbarous tribes, especially those on the East; not originally a term of contempt."

On descending South-eastward into the valley of the Ho, the Yellow River, the forerunners of the "Black-haired Race" would, it is to be presumed, most easily take, or find, their exogamous wives from, or among, the less organized native tribes into whose country they were pressing.

In Pierre Hoang's Tables, and in that of Jamieson, a paternal aunt is designated by the character 姑 *ku* alone.

May gives the "general" term for a father's elder sister as 姑 媽 *ku ma*, and that for a father's younger

sister as 姑娘 *ku neung* and also as 姑姐 *ku tse* (Pekinese *ku chieh*).

The same character *ku* forms part of the "colloquial," "polite," and "self-depreciating" terms for a father's sister. In all the terms for a husband's sister, elder or younger, as given by May, 姑 *ku* is the principal character.

In Pierre Hoang's Tables a maternal aunt is indicated by the characters 母姨 *mu-i*. In Jamieson's Table the mother's sister is given as 姨母 *i-mu*. This use of *i-mu* for *i-ma* is referred to in the *Shuo Wen* (published in the second century A.D.) where it is said: "In modern times a mother's sister is called 姨母 *i-mu*."

May gives the "general" term for a mother's elder sister as 姨媽 *i-ma*, and that for a mother's younger sister as 姨娘 *i-neung*. In the "colloquial," "polite," and "self-depreciating terms" for the mother's sister, elder and younger 姨, *i*, is the principal character.

In the "Table of Mourning for Outside Relatives" in the *Ta Ch'ing Lü Li* a mother's sisters are described by the phrase 母之姊妹 *mu-chih-tsz' (tsz)-mei*, a mother's own elder, and younger, sister.

In the same table, in referring to a mother's sister's son, and to the grandson of a mother's sister, 姨 *i* is the character used for mother's sister.

In all the terms for a wife's sister, elder or younger, given by May 姨 *i* is the principal component character.

In the Tables of Mourning as given by that popular Chinese book of reference *Important Rules for the*

Officials and People, already referred to, the mother's sister is indicated, as she is in Pierre Hoang's Tables, by the characters 母 姨 *mu-i*,—that is to say the 姨 *i* who is the sister of my mother, my father's 姨 *i* as distinguished from the 姨 *i* who is the sister of my wife, my own *i* 姨. 母 *mu* is here used not as meaning a "mother" but "maternal." The designations *mu-i*, or *i-mu*, as it is often written, have no connection with the group-mothers of a supposed primitive Chinese group-marriage.

The character 媽 *ma*, in *i-ma*, is itself a compound of the characters 女 *nü*, woman, and 馬 *ma*, horse, and has, as given by Giles, the meanings "A mare, an old woman, a mother."

We have seen that the Chinese have, as many other races have, the baby sound of *pa* as a name for a father; and they also have 媽 媽 *ma-ma* for mother, and also as a familiar name for a wife.

In the Northern Provinces of China it is not unusual for a husband to call his own wife *ma-ma* 媽媽.

In *Totemism and Exogamy* Frazer refers to the Indians of North America and the Peruvian natives as races of whom it is reported that they married, or co-habited with, their own mothers.

Had the fact, as it might have been reported, that in China a man calls his wife "mother" been known to Morgan and other exponents of the "classificatory system of relationships," what deductions might not have been drawn therefrom as to a primitive group-marriage and earlier promiscuity in China! The

Frazer,
*Totemism and
Exogamy*.
Vol. III,
pp. 362-363, 579.

reason, or rather motive, for a middle-class father in China calling his wife "mother" is somewhat similar to that actuating the American, or Englishman, of the same class in calling, as his children do, his wife "Mother,"—namely an affectionate shyness in addressing his wife by her real, or pet, name in the presence of his family,—a sort of "name avoidance."

As we have seen all female relatives the wives of male relatives within the recognized degrees of kindred of the same generation as one's father and mother have the character 母 *mu*, Mother, as the last component character in their designations in Chinese Tables of Kindred. These women become one's near relatives on marriage and being of the same generation as one's mother are entitled to the courtesy designation of "mother." One's paternal aunts are members of one's own family by birth and are within the "degrees of mourning." One's mother's own sisters are near relatives by affinity, and, if unmarried, to be mourned for; and thus both paternal and maternal aunts have their own distinctive "descriptive" designations as given above.

To these descriptive designations as given in a table of kindred 母 *mu* mother is added as a courtesy title when addressing them. Thus 姑 *ku* the paternal aunt if addressed by one of a younger generation would be called *ku-mu* 姑母 and, as we have seen, a mother's sister whose ancient description was 姨 *i*, has for centuries been, and is now, generally spoken of and addressed as *i-mu* 姨母.

In Starcke's Table X (Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity*, Table iii, Nos. 4 and 8) it is said that in Chinese if the "person addressed" is a "Mother's sister" she is addressed as "Wote ^{ta} ^{leao} Ema ⁽ my great little) mother." "Wote," "my," is in Morgan's Tables of Chinese relationships prefixed to the designation of each relative there dealt with. "Wote Ta Ema" may be translated literally as My "Great" Maternal Aunt; *ta* "great" here, however, connoting the elder of several relatives of the same grade and not, as with us, as belonging to an older generation.

May, in a note says: "If there be more than one sister older or younger than the father or mother, the first of the elder ones is designated 大 *tai* and the others, whether older or younger according to their number 2, 3, 4, etc."

May gives "*tai i ma*" as the "colloquial" term for a mother's elder sister. Morgan's "Leao Ema" is apparently "*ling i ma*" which is given by May as the "polite" term for the same elder maternal aunt. As we have seen, *i-ma* as a Chinese term of relationship does not mean mother, great or little, but a maternal aunt.

In Chinese a man can have more fathers than one, and more mothers than one, but they are not group-fathers nor group-mothers.

In the *Ta Ch'ing Lü Li* there is a heading "Table of Mourning for three classes of Fathers and eight classes of Mothers."

In Staunton's Appendix IV a paraphrase of this section of the code is given and he says: "In the

original text, there are likewise tables subjoined of consanguinity under various circumstances, and one table in particular, which describes those who are considered by the laws to be step-fathers and step-mothers, in the following manner."

Staunton then gives a short *précis* of these eleven relationships as referred to in the code.

Pierre Hoang's Eighth Table of Mourning annexed to his *Mariage Chinois* is entitled "Du Deuil imposé pour ceux qui jouissent du Titre de Père ou de Mère," and is founded on the same sections of the *Ta Ch'ing Lü Li*, and on the revision of the Code made in 1870 in the reign of Tung Chih.

The three classes of "Fathers" and eight classes of "Mothers" may be summarized as follows:

1. 同居繼父 *t'ung chü chi fu*. A step-father, the second husband of one's mother with whom one has gone to live on her re-marriage.

2. 不同居繼父 *pu t'ung chü chi fu*. A step-father, the second husband of one's mother with whom one has not gone to live.

3. 從繼母嫁 *ts'ung chi mu chia*. A step-father, the husband of one's step-mother whom, after one's own father's death, she re-marries and with whom one also goes to live.

1. 嫡母 *ti mu*. Principal mother, the "legal wife" of the father as addressed by the son of a concubine.

2. 繼母 *chi mu*. A step-mother who becomes one's father's legal wife by his re-marriage.

3. 養母 *yang mu*. Adopting mother. One who adopts a child in infancy and brings him up as her own son.

4. 慈母 *ts'u mu*. Merciful mother. A father's concubine who after the death of one's own mother, and at the father's direction, brought one up.

5. 嫁母 *chia mu*. Married mother. One's own mother who, after one's father's death, re-marries.

6. 出母 *ch'u mu*. Divorced mother. One's mother who has been driven out of one's father's house, that is, divorced.

7. 庶母 *shu mu*. Secondary mother. Father's concubine as addressed by sons of legal wife, or sons of other concubines.

8. 乳母 *ju mu*. Milk mother. A foster mother. The text of *The Ta Ch'ing Lü Li*, and Pierre Hoang confine the application of the terms *ju mu* to a foster-mother who was at the same time a concubine of the father, but it is commonly used to designate any wet-nurse.

There are yet more fathers and mothers to be met with in Chinese nomenclature. The son of a concubine refers to his own mother as 生母 *sheng mu*, "the mother who bore me."

A son legally adopted by a member of his own family, his paternal uncle for example, refers to his
 Pierre Hoang adopted parents as *ssu fu, mu* 嗣父母;
Op. cit., and having been so adopted he refers to
 Tab. VIII. his own father and mother as *pen sheng fu, pen sheng mu* 本生父, 本生母.

Morgan's own explanation of the many "mothers" of his "Malayan System" as one of his stages of the human family as given in his *System of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family*, and repeated in his *Ancient Society*, was that ^{Morgan, *Ancient Society*, 1877, p. 109 *et seq.*} all the sisters of one's mother were one's "Mothers" because they all were, or might be, the wives of one's father; whose brothers again all were, or might be, the husbands of one's mother, and of all her sisters.

McLennan in his *Primitive Marriage* had criticized this explanation by saying:

"Mr. Morgan says it is because they (the 'Mothers') are the wives of my fathers, and in the absence of a term in the language to denominate their exact relation to me, they must be called either my 'mothers' or nothing, and *e converso* I must be called their 'son.' But this is giving up his case.

"This is an explanation on the ground of poverty of language (of which no proof is adduced—nay more, of which there are facts to disprove), not an explanation from the nature of descents. ^{McLennan, *Op. cit.*, pp. 345-346.} And, indeed, if a man is called the 'son' of a woman who did not bear him, his being so called clearly defies explanation on the principles of natural descent. The imputed relationship is not, in that case, 'the one actually existing as near as the parentage of individuals could be known'; and accordingly Mr. Morgan's proposition is not made out." The proposition as to the "Malayan System"

referred to by McLennan was restated by Morgan in his *Ancient Society* as follows: "It is in part a system of blood relationships and in part of marriage relationships."

Morgan then replies to McLennan as follows:

"On the face of the statement the question involved is not one of parentage, but of marriage relationship. A man calls his mother's sister his mother, and she Morgan, *Ancient Society*, pp. 519-520. calls him her son, although she did not bear him. This is the case in the Malayan, Turanian and Ganowanian systems. Whether we have consanguine or punahuan marriages, a man's mother's sister is the wife of his reputed father. She is his step-mother as near as our system furnishes an analogue; and among ourselves a step-mother is called mother, and she calls her step-son son. It defies explanation, it is true, as a blood-relationship, which it does not pretend to be, but as a marriage relationship, which it pretends to be, this is the explanation."

The Chinese family relationships were, as we have seen, included by Morgan in his "Turanian" type of the human family. Morgan and McLennan, pioneers in the modern investigation of social phenomena, differed as we see as to the explanation of certain facts which they both assumed to be true.

Morgan himself collected his facts as to the system of relationship of the Iroquois, with whom he lived. As to the family relationship of the "Turanian," in which he includes the Chinese, and other races of

mankind, Morgan worked upon answers obtained by the Diplomatic and Consular Representatives of the United States in foreign lands to a questionnaire sent to them.

As to the Chinese family, and its nomenclature, the questions put, or the answers given, must have been misunderstood: A man in China does not "call his mother's sister his mother," nor does she "call him her son."

Morgan in his *Ancient Society* contradicted McLennan's view that the "Classificatory System of Relationship" was a system of modes of ^{Morgan.} addressing persons, and re-affirms his, <sup>*Ancient Society*,
p. 521.</sup> Morgan's, view, that it was a "System of consanguinity and affinity."

In his *Ancient Society*, Morgan says: "The most primitive system of consanguinity yet discovered is found among the Polynesians, of which the Hawaiian will be used as typical. I have called it the Malayan system. Under it all consanguine, near and remote, fall within some one of the following relationships, namely, parent, child, grandparent, grandchild, brother and sister. No other blood relationships are recognized." The passage just quoted from ends as follows:

"Of the ancient general prevalence of this system of consanguinity over Asia there can be ^{Morgan.} no doubt, because it is the basis of the <sup>*Op. cit.*,
pp. 385-6.</sup> Turanian system still prevalent in Asia." "It also underlies the Chinese."

Westermarck in *The History of Human Marriage*, published in 1903, criticized Morgan's hypothesis of Westermarck, promiscuity; and, after a consideration of the nomenclature in Morgan's *Tables, Human Marriage*, p. 89. and the terms for relationship relied on by Morgan as inferring promiscuity as a primitive stage of the human family says: "There can be scarcely any doubt that the terms for relationship are, in their origin, terms of address."

Could it be shown that, at any time, in China a man called, addressed, or described, *simpliciter*, without difference and sans phrase, any woman other his own mother who bore him, as his mother, then such fact would be strong presumptive evidence that such woman, or class of women, might have had marital relations with that man's father, evidence in fact of "group-marriage": but we have found no evidence of any such usage in the Chinese nomenclature.

The Chinese names, or rather designations, for kindred are not in fact "classificatory" in the sense of Morgan's "Classificatory System"; they are, as we have seen, each and every of them "descriptive."

Although one does not find in the Chinese designations for their kindred in blood, or relations by marriage, any names, or rather characters or phrases, from which a primitive Chinese group-marriage can be inferred, traces of such a stage of family life in China, if it ever did exist, might be found elsewhere in Chinese records, or customs.

The *Chou Li* in stating the duties of the Mei-Chi, Marriage Officers, says:

"In the middle month of Spring, he orders the men and women to assemble. At this season those who unite without observing the six rites of marriage are not hindered, those who without any special excuse have not conformed to the Edicts [as to marriage] are punished by the Marriage Officer. He examines the unmarried men and women and calls them together."

Chou Li,
Biot's French
Translation,
Vol. I,
pp. 207-208.

Mons. Ed. Biot who translated the *Chou Li* into French draws attention, in a note on the passage just quoted, to a still older Chinese text which refers to marriages in the Spring, namely, the *Hsia-Hsiao-Cheng* (夏小正) the "Lesser Calendar of the Hsia Dynasty," part of which was found in the tomb of Confucius, and to which a date of 2,400 to 1,700 B.C. is assigned. Biot translated into French the extant portions of the Calendar, and they are to be found as a Note to his Essay "Recherches sur la Température Ancienne de la Chine" in Volume X of the *Journal Asiatique*.

The succeeding events of the then Chinese year are given shortly under the heading of each month. Biot notes that the First Month of the Year in the times of the Hsia Dynasty was that immediately preceding the Spring Equinox. One of the happenings of the Second Moon is that "many women and young men are made happy. On a lucky 'Ting-hou' day, many people set up house."

In the *Li Ki* there is a similar calendar,—the Yüeh Ling perhaps derived from the same original as that

*Sacred Books
of the East.*
(The *I-ching*,
Leigge).
Vol. XXVII,
p. 259.

of Hsia, in which the official, and natural, happenings of each month of the year are directed and noted. Of the second month of Spring it is there said:

"In this month the swallow makes its appearance. On the day of its arrival, the son of Heaven sacrifices to the first match-maker with a bull, a ram, and a boar. He goes to do so in person, with his queen and help-mates, attended by his nine ladies of honour. Peculiar courtesy is shown to those whom he has (lately) approached. Bow-cases have been brought, and a bow and arrows are given to each before (the altar of) the first match-maker."

Westermarck in the second chapter of his work *The History of Human Marriage* discusses, it may be said proves, the existence of a human pairing season in primitive times. After giving observed instances of marriages among various savage people being contracted at a certain time of the year, Westermarck, *op. cit.*, p. 31. Westermarck says: "It seems, therefore, a reasonable presumption that the increase of the sexual instinct at the end of Spring or in the beginning of summer, is a survival of an ancient pairing season, depending upon the same law that rules in the rest of the animal kingdom."

When Biot translated the *Chou Li*, a translation published in 1851, after his death, a primitive human mating time depending on the periodicity of desire was not a subject of research, and one can understand how the editors of Mons. Biot's translation of

the *Chou Li* noted that they thought the passage in the *Chou Li* as to the duties of the Marriage Officer, quoted above, must be corrupt, in that it said that in the middle month of Spring those who were united without observing the "six rites of marriage" were at that time allowed to do so.

Chou Li,
Biot's
translation,
Vol. I, p. 307.

In view, however, of the researches since made as to a yearly marriage period observed by primitive races, is it not more likely that in the quoted passages from the Lesser Calendar of the Hsia Dynasty, the *Li Ki*, and the *Chou Li* we have the record of such an annual mating time in China, an unbroken link with a prehuman past? As shortly described in the documents referred to, it is not, however, "group-marriage" or the supposed earlier stage of unrestricted promiscuity which we find, but marriage, in a group it is true, of individual husbands and wives.

All writers on the family nomenclature of primitive races, names, and "name-avoidance" refer to the difficulties experienced in getting answers to direct questions as to such matters, even from those in a position to supply them.

This difficulty was experienced by such a well equipped inquirer as May, and yet what far-reaching and erroneous conclusions have been come to, and to this day repeated by writers not so equipped, as regards the nomenclature of China.

May.
Op. cit. p. 15.

Sir Henry Maine said that it was difficult to say "what society of men had not been originally based

Maine, on the Patriarchal Family"; the expound-
Ancient Law. ers of the "classificatory system of rela-
 p. 132. tionship" have felt no such difficulty; but would
 it not be well that the facts upon which they rely
 should be re-examined?

As regards China, there is nothing in the names
 for, or the modes of addressing, relatives to show
 Legge, that *E-Yin*, the Chief Minister of the first
Ch. Classics. four Sovereigns of the Shang Dynasty was
 Vol. II. Pl. 1, mistaken when, in advising King T'ae
 p. 795. Keah, in 1539 B.C., he said "The commencement is
 in the family and State; the consummation in the
 Empire."

CHAPTER XIV.

A CONCURRENCE AND A CRITICISM

THE learned Editors of the *Young Pao* in Vol. 21, 1922, under the heading "Bibliographie," at pages 77, 78 comment as follows:—

New China Review.

Juin 1921: P. 159-191: Chinese family nomenclature and its supposed relation to a primitive group-marriage, par H. P. Wilkinson. (L'auteur a raison de repousser les conclusions tirées par Morgan de renseignements erronés sur la nomenclature familiale chinoise, mais lui-même n'a qu'une connaissance indirecte des textes chinois. Il a d'ailleurs lu avec soin May, Jamieson, Möllendorff, le P. Pierre Hoang; malheureusement, il ne connaissait pas encore les travaux de Granet 'Fêtes et chansons anciennes de la Chine,' Paris, 1919, in-8°, et surtout, dans le cas présent, 'La polygynie sororale et le sorrorat dans la Chine féodale,' Paris, 1920, in-8°. Ces travaux lui auraient montré que le mariage par groupes a bien dû exister dans la Chine archaïque. Et il est surprenant que M. W. ne se soit pas demandé pourquoi par exemple 甥 signifie à la fois neveu (fils de la sœur) et gendre, de même que *Chiu* 舅 est à la fois oncle maternel et beau-père (père de la femme)—Quant à l'analyse du caractère 姨 yi donnée p. 183, elle est bien invraisemblable, car 夷 yi a toutes chances de ne jouer là qu'un rôle de phonétique).

To have the concurrence of the Editors of the *T'oung Pao* in resisting the conclusions of Morgan, drawn from his erroneous information as to Chinese family nomenclature, more than reconciles the writer to the fact that he has only "une connaissance indirecte des textes chinois." All that the writer can say as to this is that he can, with slow care, resort to a dictionary.

It is true then, when the preceding pages were written, I had not read *La Polygynie sororale, et le sororat dans la Chine féodale*, by Marcel Granet. I have since read that work, and also Granet's *Fêtes et Chansons Anciennes de la Chine*.

By such reading I am confirmed in my view as to there being clear traces of a human pairing season in primitive China, once, if not twice, in the year, and as to marriage at such time by groups of men and maidens; but I am not convinced that there was "group marriage," or that, ever in China, "une groupe de frères épouse un groupe de soeurs et possède les femmes en commun." Granet in *La Polygynie Sororale* says "Il y a des raisons de croire qu'à l'origine une Communauté ne comprenait que deux groupes familiaux échangeant entre eux leurs filles; cette hypothèse est la seule qui rende compte de la nomenclature de parenté Chinoise, où un seul mot suffit pour père et frère du père 父 pour mère et soeur de la mère 母, pour soeur du père et belle mère 姑, pour frère de la mère et beau père 舅, et dans laquelle un homme ne distingue point entre son gendre et le fils de sa soeur 甥."

Granet,
*La Polygynie
Sororale*, p. 7.

One can only say—but is it so? A single “word,” or rather character, does not suffice for both one’s father and one’s paternal uncle. 父 *fu*, is the character indicating father, 伯 *po*, is one’s father’s elder brother, and 叔 *shu*, his younger brother.

母 *Mu*, is the character for mother, and 姨 *i*, or 姨媽 *i ma*, or 母姨 *mu i*, those for Maternal Aunt.

姑 *Ku*, aged lady, stands for one’s father’s sister but not for one’s mother-in-law, except perhaps by way of courtesy, the Peking colloquial for mother-in-law being 岳母 *Yueh Mu*.

舅 *Chiu* or 舅父 *Chiu Fu* indicates one’s mother’s brother, one’s Maternal Uncle. On enquiry, I find that the father of one’s wife would only be so addressed out of politeness, the full indication being 女舅 *Wai Chiu* literally, outside (the family) Maternal Uncle. The reason for 甥 *Shèng* being used in the classics, to indicate not only a sister’s son but also a son-in-law has already been discussed; but one might add that the passage in the *Shuo Wên*, already referred to, may be taken as meaning, “Those persons who address one as ‘Maternal Uncle’ I address as my sister’s sons.”

CHAPTER XV.

CONCLUSION

WHY did primitive man shun his hearth-mate as a wife? Was it, as some have thought, in obedience to the consciously imposed restriction of some enlightened leader of a horde, or for some other considered reason of policy or convenience? or was it in obedience to instinct, that is to say race-memory? Perhaps, the answer to the riddle can be found, or traced, in the records and usages of China.

McLennan in his *Primitive Marriage* after quoting Latham's *Descriptive Ethnology* in proof of the wide prevalence of the practice of exogamy, laid it down as an axiom that "wherever capture, or the form of capture, prevails, or has prevailed, there prevails, or has prevailed, exogamy. Conversely, we may say that, wherever exogamy can be found, we may confidently expect to find, after due investigation, at least traces of a system of capture."

McLennan,
*Studies in
Ancient
History*, p. 110.

McLennan further says "We believe this restriction on marriage to be connected with the practice in early times of female infanticide which, rendering women scarce, led at once to polyandry within the tribe, and the capturing of women from without."

Op. cit.
p. 111.

Lord Avebury, unshaken in his opinions by the various criticisms and deductions of McLennan,

Avebury, *Marriage, Totemism and Exogamy*, p. 3. Letourneau, Starcke, Lang, Atkinson, Frazer, Crawley, and others, still adheres in his "Marriage Totemism and Religion" to the views he expressed in "The Origin of Civilization and the Primitive Condition of Man," that "communal marriage" was the earliest form of human society.

Lord Avebury restates the opinion expressed in his "Origin of Civilization" that "originally no man could appropriate any woman of his own tribe exclusively to himself, nor could any woman dedicate herself to one man, without infringing tribal rights; but that, on the other hand, if a man captured a woman belonging to another tribe he thereby acquired an individual and peculiar right to her, and she became his exclusively, no one else having any claim or property in her."

Neither "female infanticide," nor "promiscuity," nor "communal marriage," nor "polyandry," nor "matriarchy," nor "the tracing of descent through women only (with or without matriarchy)" can in the present state of the debate as to the origin of the human family claim to be treated as axioms; and to accept them, as regards the primitive life of the Chinese race, as necessary stages of development would be contrary to such evidence as we possess.

Sir Henry Maine in his "Ancient Law" states that it would be difficult to say what society of men had not been originally based on the patriarchal family.

Maine,
*Ancient
Law*, p. 132.

Such careful and well equipped enquirers as Parker, Jamieson, and von Möllendorff, ready as they were to give full weight to "traces" in China of any such supposed state of early human society, all found that Chinese family life could not be shown to have been, at any time, other than patriarchal.

Parker, *Op. cit.*, pp. 34-6.
 Jamieson, *Op. cit.*, p. 95.
 von Möllendorff, *Op. cit.*, pp. 9-10.

As regards China there is nothing to show that E-Yin, the Chief Minister of the first four sovereigns of the Shang dynasty, was mistaken when, in B.C. 1539 in advising King T'ae-Keah, he said "The commencement is in the family and State; the consummation in the Empire."

Legge, C. C., Pt. I., Vol. III., p. 195.

The rule of exogamy in China cannot be more shortly, or clearly, stated than in the words of "The Summary of the Rules of Propriety,"—the first book of the *Lî Kî*:—

"One must not marry a wife of the same surname with himself. Hence in buying a concubine, if he do not know the surname, he must consult the tortoise shell about it."

Lî Kî, Legge, *Op. cit.*, S. B. E., Pt. III, p. 78.

In the same book it is said "Male and female, without the intervention of the match maker, do not know each other's name."

As Legge notes, the tortoise shell, as used in divination, was not expected to give the unknown surname of the desired concubine, but to answer whether, or no, it was the same as that of the man: whether in fact the proposed alliance was prohibited by the rule of exogamy, or allowable.

Having found so strong a taboo on the use of the personal name, and assuming that in China, as elsewhere, all surnames must have been, when first used, in a sense personal names, one might have thought that the answer to the riddle of exogamy, in China at any rate, was to be found in the avoidance of a name common to both the intended husband and wife and to the families of which they were members; and in a doubling of that fear of damage as incident to any mating which is evidenced by sex taboos such as we find to have been observed by the Chinese race.

Short cuts, are, however, proverbially dangerous, *Mencius*, and this path through the maze of exogamy is, as regards China, barred by *Legge*, C. C. II, p. 498. *Mencius* who says:—

“We avoid the name (名 *Ming*) but do not avoid the surname (姓 *Hsing*), the surname is common; the name is peculiar.”

名 *ming*, the personal, given, name, is a combination of the character 夕 *hsi*, evening, dusk, a pictograph of the rising moon, and of the character 口 *kou*, mouth, speech.

姓 *hsing*, the family, or clan name, the name with which a man is born, is a combination of the character 女 *nü*, woman, and of the character 生 *Sheng*, to bear, to beget.

The explanation given in the *Shuo Wen*, and followed by *Wieger* in his *Caractères Chinois* of the use of the pictogram for evening and that for mouth to indicate the person's name, is that—when people

met in the darkness they called out their names as a means of identification. An explanation not in accord with the strong taboo on the use of the personal name in primitive China.

The explanation of the use of the combined characters for evening and mouth as indicating the personal name may be that it was given to a child at a gathering of the tribe at the new moon, as amongst the Guarayos Indians of Bolivia, or given at a solemn assembly as amongst the Wyandots.

Frazer, *Golden Bough*, PL. IV, Vol. II, pp. 145-7, *Totemism and Exogamy*, Vol. III, p. 35.

The statements of natives, of Australia for instance, in explanation of their own primitive usages, are by many writers treated with scant consideration. We, however, must accept the authority of Mencius as to the usages of his own time. That period in the life of the Chinese race was far from primitive; and it might be said that Chinese surnames having by then, and in historical times, greatly increased in number, the sanctity which had, presumably, applied to them while still personal and few in number had been lost, though the original avoidance of names strictly personal was still in force.

The Regulations in the Book of Rites show clearly, however, that, in the minds of those who first codified the social customs and rules of conduct therein preserved, the bar to the marriage of persons bearing the same surname was kinship, however remote, as evidenced by the common family name.

In the "Great Treatise" it is said "As the branch-surnames which arose separated the members of

Li Ki, Legge, them from their relatives of a former
Op. cit., S. B. E. time, and the kinship disappeared as
 Pt. IV, p. 63. time went on (so far as the wearing mourning was
 concerned), could marriage be contracted between
 parties so wide apart?" But there was "that original
 surname tying all the members together without
 distinction, and the maintenance of the connection
 by means of a common feast;—while there were
 these conditions, there could be no intermarriage,
 even after a hundred generations. Such was the
 rule of Chow."

Legge in one of his notes on this passage says Shao Hao refers to this prohibition of intermarriage by Chow as the grand distinction of the dynasty, marking clearly, "for the first time the distinction between man and beast."

Shao Hao gave, in this regard, too great praise to the founders of the Chow dynasty. For in the "Great Treatise" we have a record of the reforms made by King Wu when he overthrew the last of the Shang dynasty in B.C. 1122.

In "The Speech at Muh," made in "the grey dawn" of the day of the battle, King Wu in addressing the
 Legge (*Texts of "hereditary rulers of my friendly States"*
Confucianism, *Shu King*), p. said: "The ancients have said 'the hen
 131, & Legge, Ch. does not announce the morning. The
 C. (1865), Vol. crowing of a hen in the morning indicates
 III, Pt. II, p. 302. the subversion of the family.' Now Show, the King
 of Shang, follows only the words of his wife. He
 has blindly thrown away the sacrifices which he
 should present, and makes no response for the favour

which he has received; he has blindly thrown away his paternal and maternal relations, not treating them properly."

If we had anywhere preserved to us the words of Fuh-Hi, for whom also the institution of marriage in China has been claimed, we should probably find that he too in his day, in the 29th Century B.C., at the most regulated an existing Chinese patriarchal family.

EXOGENY FOUNDED ON BLOOD-AVOIDANCE

The apparent digression just made by the writer shows how difficult it is to discuss under separate headings and to set out in an orderly manner matters which are in fact closely bound together parts of a whole.

Having dealt with the avoidance of names and cognate matters, the other of the great "avoidances," that of "sex," and therein of the avoidance of blood as in force in ancient China, must be considered.

Lord Avebury epitomises the answers already given to the riddle of "Exogamy" as follows:—

"The principal theories which have been suggested have been:—1. That of Plutarch, adopted by Tylor, that it was a political expedient to strengthen the tribe by foreign alliances, and union between different tribes.

Avebury,
*Marriage,
Totemism and
Religion.*
p. 45 et seq.

2. That suggested by McLennan and adopted by Morgan and others, that it was due to the prevalence of female infanticide and the consequent scarcity of women.

3. That of C. O. Muller, that it was due to coyness.
4. That it was a social reform due to the moral sense of women.
5. That it was due to a recoil from marriage with an early housemate.
6. That it was arranged by chiefs to prevent the marriage of near relations.
7. That of Mr. Girard Teulon, that communities which from any special circumstances took to marrying out, would gain so much in physical vigour that they would secure predominance, and exogamy would eventually become a custom enjoined by law.
8. That of M. Fustel de Coulanges, that the use of force, or pretended force, arose from the supposed necessity of resisting transference from the Gods of one family to those of another.
9. That it arose from totemism: that just as a man felt himself precluded from eating an animal belonging to his totem, so it would be wrong, or dangerous, to marry a woman of his own totem.
10. That suggested by Lord Avebury himself, and already referred to, that exogamy followed upon "communal marriage" as the earliest condition of human society. In Lord Avebury's view exogamy was the result, and a concomitant, of "Marriage-by-capture."

Of the theories just stated, I think the exogamy of the Chinese race was "a recoil from an early housemate," but it was more than that. It was an "avoidance" of blood, enforced under the dread sanction,

physical and spiritual, of harm to those who offended, and to those who permitted it, and to be expiated only by vengeance upon the evil doers.

Westermarck in *The History of Human Marriage*, published in 1903, says:—

“Of course there is no innate aversion to marriage with near relations; but there is an innate aversion to marriage between persons living very closely together from early youth, and, as such persons are in such cases related, this feeling displays itself chiefly as a horror of intercourse between near kin. The existence of an innate aversion of this kind is proved, not only by common experience, but by an abundance of ethnographical facts which show that it is not in the first place by degrees of consanguinity, but by close living together, that prohibitory laws against inter-marriage are determined.”

Westermarck,
*History of
Human Mar-
riage*, p. 511.

An innate aversion to marriage with one with whom one had lived from childhood, or rather a desire to marry some one else, the allurements of the unknown, would account for a habit or custom of not marrying one's immediate kin; but it does not explain why marrying one's near kin should be held, as it was held by exogamous races, to be an offence against the spirits, and one's fellow men. Such an aversion would make such a custom easier to follow; but the compelling motive for the prohibition must lie deeper than that.

Is it not more likely that the “avoidance of blood,” the well known primitive fears of a mysterious dan-

ger connected with any mating, magnified to horror at the thought of marriage with one of the same blood as one's own, is the impelling motive of exogamy?

Sir J. G. Frazer at the last pages of his *Totemism and Exogamy* says of the aborigines of Australia, in Frazer, whose social system most writers believe *Totemism and Exogamy*. Vol. IV, pp. 168-9 is to be found the last extant relic of the earliest traceable state of human society:—

“What idea these primitive sages and lawgivers, if we may call them so, had in their minds when they laid down the fundamental lines of the institution, we cannot say with certainty; all that we know of savages leads us to suppose that it must have been what we should now call a superstition, some crude notion of natural causation which to us might seem transparently false, though to them it doubtless seemed obviously true. Yet egregiously wrong as they were in theory, they appear to have been fundamentally right in practice. What they abhorred was really evil; what they preferred was really good.”

Frazer's last stated opinion on exogamy is that it was “artificial and that it was deliberately devised for the purpose which it actually serves, namely, the prevention of the marriage of near kin.”

The Exogamy of the Chinese race does not appear, upon examination, to be due to a conscious reformation; and the evil consequences of a breach of the practice of exogamy “the proper way in marriage,” were apprehended, even in historical times, in a form

which precludes and which must, by untold ages, have antedated any conscious reformatory movement.

That Chinese Exogamy was upheld as an institution through a fear of the consequences, including a fear of those very evils which the leading authorities on the subject think unlikely or impossible to have been contemplated or known to primitive man, is, I think, shown by references in the Chinese classics.

In the Tso Chuen there is, in the commentary on the record of the twenty-fifth year of Duke Seang, the story of Ts'ang Woo-tsze and his insistence on marrying a widow who by birth belonged to the same parent family as himself. The brother of the widow objected and said "husband and wife should be of different surnames." After further objection founded on an inauspicious answer to enquires by angury in the matter, Ts'ang Woo-tsze finally said "She is a widow:—what does all this matter. Her former husband bore the brunt of it." So he married her and through her he suffered shame. Her former husband had not been of the same surname: and here we have a defiance by a strong-willed man of a primeval "blood avoidance" the breach of which, and not the mere marrying one of the same name, was what was and presumably always had been in China "taboo."

In the Tso Chuen commentary on the records of the first year of Duke Ch'aou is the story of the illness of the Marquis of Tsin. The Marquis being ill, the Earl of Ch'ing sent Kung-sun

Legge, C. C.,
Vol. V. Pt. III.
p. 514.

Legge, C. C.
Op. cit.
pp. 580-1.

K'eaou on a complimentary visit and to enquire about the Marquis's illness.

The diviners had said that the illness was inflicted on the Marquis by the Spirits. Kung-sun K'eaou rejected this explanation saying:—

“Your ruler's person must be suffering from something connected with his movements out of the palace and in it, his meat and drink, his griefs and pleasures, what can these Spirits of the Mountains and Stars have to do with it? I have heard that the superior man (divides the day) into four periods:—the morning, to hear the affairs of government; noon, to make full enquiries about them; the evening, to consider well and complete the orders (he has resolved to issue); and the night for rest. . . . But has not (your ruler) been making these four different periods of his time into one? This may have produced the illness.”

“I have heard again that the ladies of the harem should not be of the same surname as the master of it. If they be, their offspring will not thrive. When their first admiration for each other (as relatives) is exhausted, they occasion one another disease. On this account the superior man hates such unions, and one of our books says, —‘In buying a concubine, if you do not know her surname, consult the tortoise shell for it.’ The ancients gave careful attention to the two points which I have mentioned. That husband and wife should be of different surname is one of the greatest points of propriety: but now your ruler has in his harem four Kees:—may it not be from this

(that his illness has arisen)? If it has come from these two things (I have mentioned), nothing can be done for it. If he had seldom to do with the four Kees, he might get along; if that be the case, disease was the necessary result."

The words in brackets in Legge's translations are not in the Chinese text but added to fill in the sense of the original. In the case of the sentence—"When their first admiration for each other (as relatives) is exhausted they occasion each other disease"—the words "as relatives" do not, it is submitted, give the correct connotation. It is "as relatives" that they were believed to give each other disease.

The sick Marquis asked the help of a physician from the State of T'sin, and one was sent to him. The physician, after an exhaustive diagnosis of the illness, as to which the Tso Chuen should be consulted, found that the Marquis was suffering from excessive sexual indulgence.

One of the possible origins of exogamy, considered by Frazer, is that it arose from the fear of harm to the whole tribe consequent on incest by any members of it.

In the Summary and Conclusion of *Totemism and Exogamy*, it is said:—

"What then can be the great social wrong which was supposed to result from incest? How were the guilty persons believed to endanger the whole tribe by their crime. A possible answer is that the intercourse of near kin was thought to render the woman of the tribe sterile

Frazer,
*Totemism and
Exogamy*, Vol.
IV, pp.157-9.

and to endanger the common food-supply by preventing edible animals from multiplying and edible plants from growing; in short, that the effect of incest was supposed to be sterility of women, animals, and plants."

After reference to the holding of such beliefs by peoples of the Malayan stock in the Indian Archipelago and their kindred in Indo-Chinese, and as found amongst the ancient Greeks, the ancient Latins and Irish, Frazer says:—

"The only serious difficulty in the way of supposing that it was so, is the absence of evidence that such notions are held by the most primitive exogamous peoples, the Australian aborigines, amongst whom we should certainly expect to find them if they had indeed been the origin of exogamy."

May it not be that as the home of the Australian aborigines has suffered desiccation so has their civilisation dried up: and may it not be that their "two," "four" or "eight" exogamous class systems are survivals of a state of society far from primitive and from which, in other matters, the natives have retrograded.

Be this as it may, there is evidence in the primitive usages and beliefs embodied and preserved in the earliest calendars of China, notes on the happenings appropriate to each season of the year, that it was believed by the Chinese race that incest inflicted injury upon others, as well as those committing it, and that irregularities in human relations and in nature were interrelated and introactive.

The good, or bad, behaviour of the women of the race was thought to be related to the due flighting of swallows, birds connected with miraculous births in Chinese legend, and with the seasonable appearance of rainbows.

Translation of
extracts from the
*Little Calendar
of Hsia*, and the
*History of the
Chou Dynasty*.
*Journal
Asiatique*, Vol.
X. pp. 551-568.

The fourth book of the *Lî Kî*, *Yueh Ling*, the *Proceedings of Government in the different months*, preserves a record of, and enjoins, such primitive and savage usage as the "tearing of animals in pieces" to avert pestilence. In the second month of Spring "the swallow makes its appearance. On the day of its arrival, the son of Heaven sacrifices to the first matchmaker." In the same month "three days before the thunder, a bell with a wooden tongue is sounded to give notice to all the people. 'The Thunder,' it is said, 'is about to utter its voice.' If any of you be not careful of your behaviour, you shall bring forth children incomplete; there are sure to be evils and calamities."

Lî Kî. Legge.
S. B. E. Part III.
pp. 259, 260,
266, 280, 307.

As to each month of the year, it is said that, if the proceedings proper to that season were not observed, disorder in nature and calamity to man would result.

As to the third month of summer, it is said:—

"If the proceedings proper to Autumn were observed, even the high grounds would be flooded, the grain that had been sown would not ripen; and there would be many miscarriages among women."

When Ts'ang Woo-tsze, greatly daring in marrying the widow who was of the same surname, of the same blood as himself, said "Her former husband bore the

brunt of it" he was referring to her defloration and to a primitive fear of the shedding or contact with, blood which had survived to his own day. Fear of the risks run in the shedding of blood, especially blood which, as that of one's kin, was in fact one's own, a fear enforced as a taboo by the fears of one's fellow tribesmen who, as their belief was, would also suffer for such incest, would appear to be the origin of exogamy in China.

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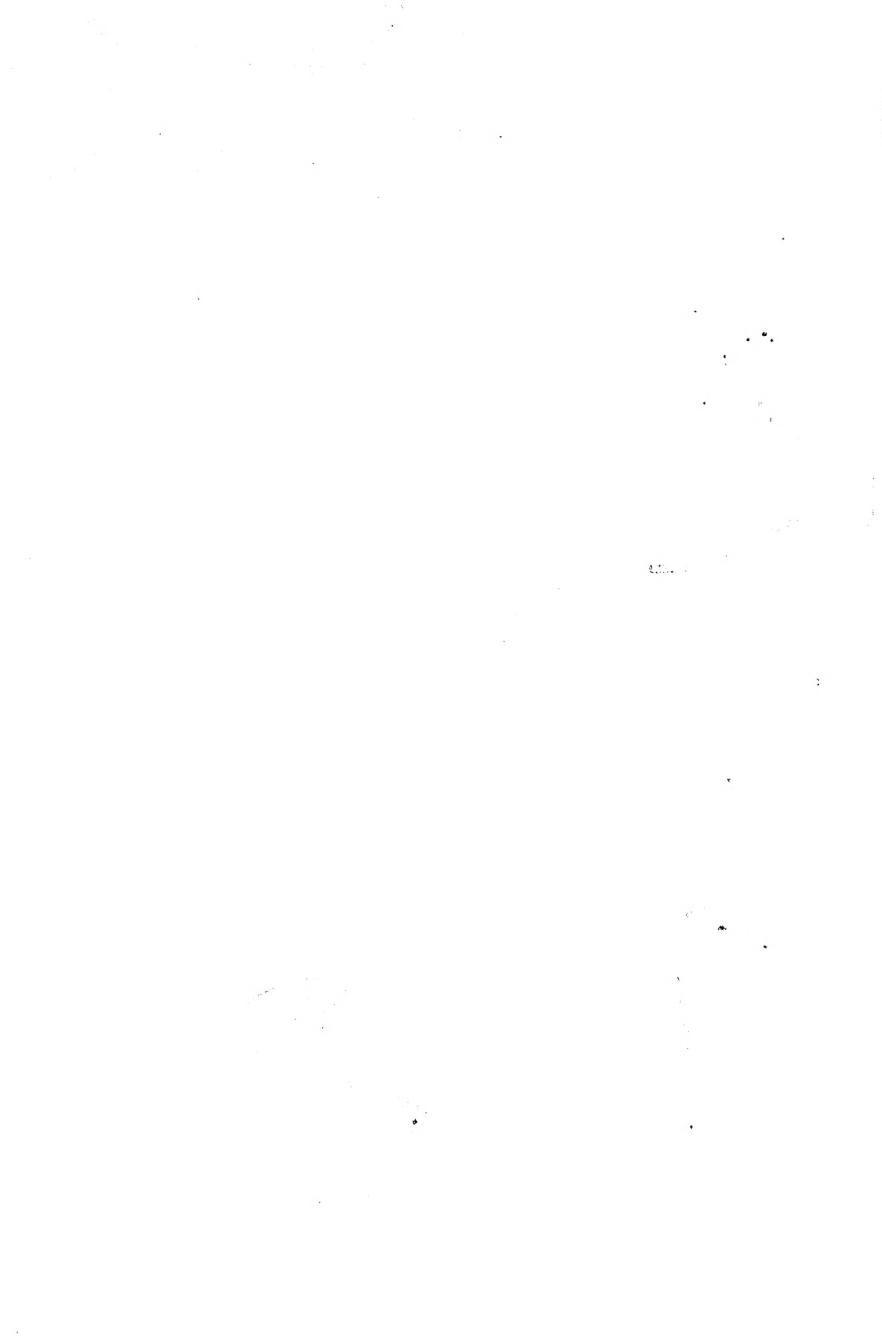
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